

THE GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

PART 1

The solution of the
problem of Democracy

PART 2

The solution of the
Economic Problem

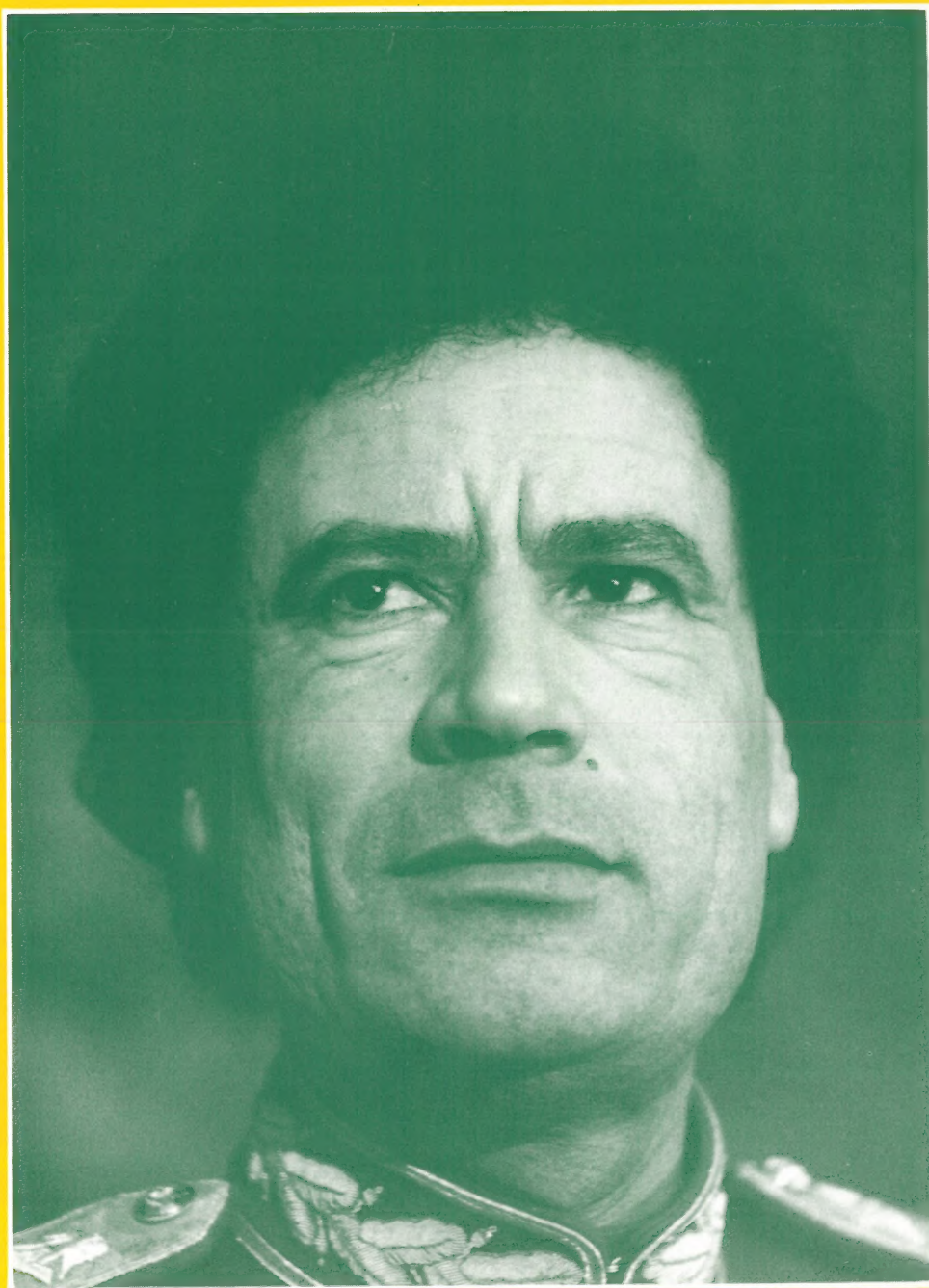
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September 1983

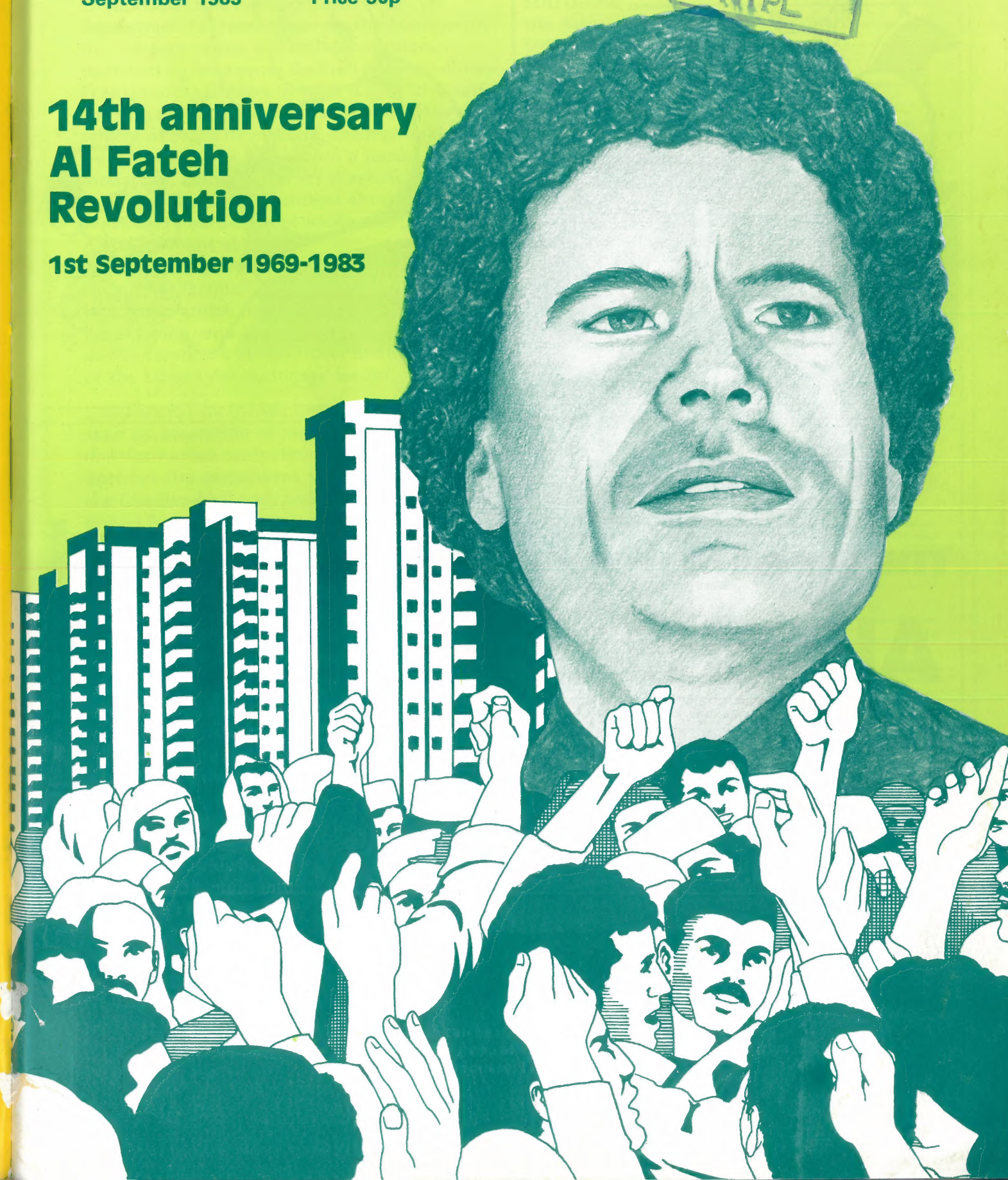
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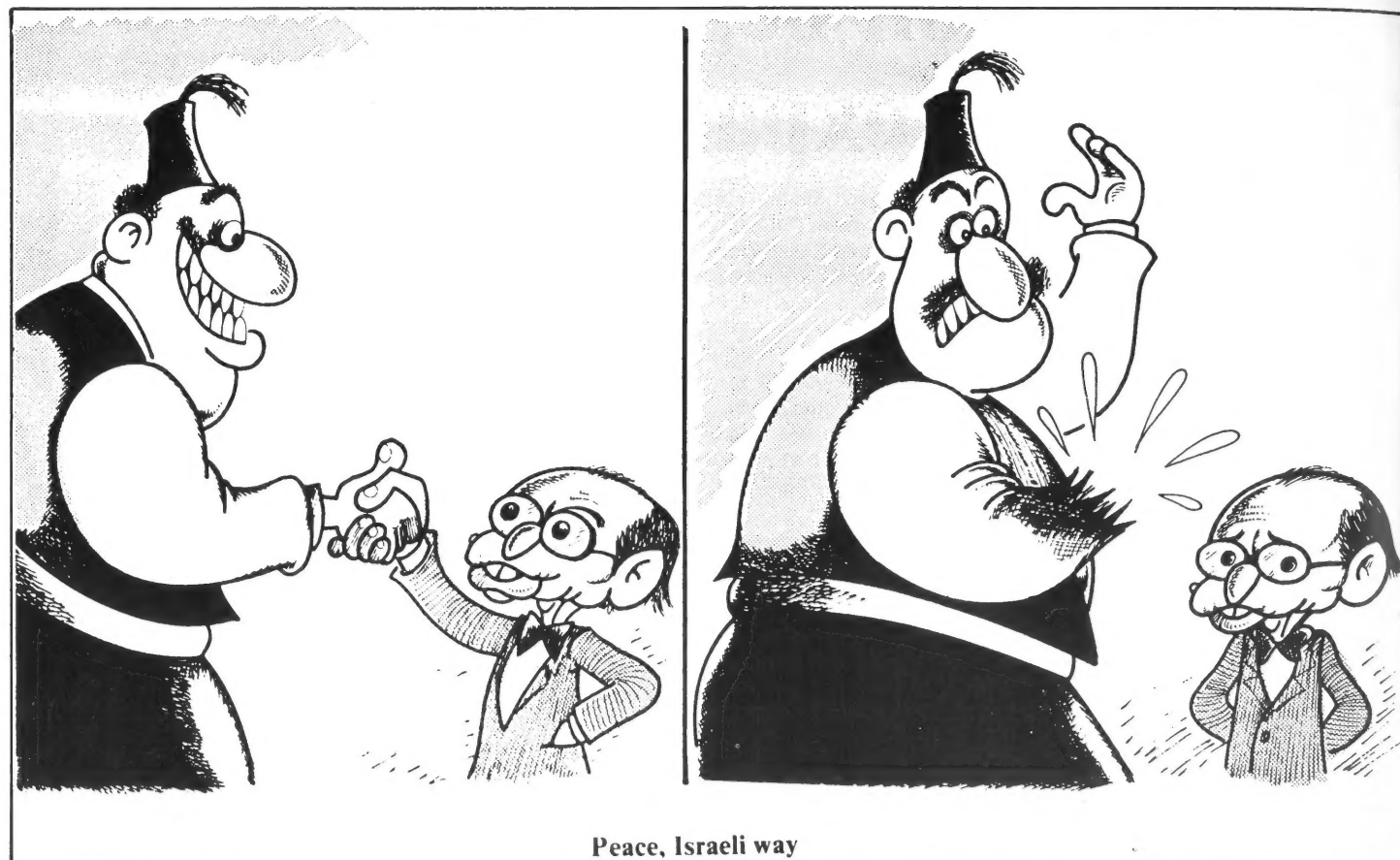
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Inside:
Chad
Special Report

14th anniversary Al Fateh Revolution

1st September 1969-1983





Peace, Israeli way

The Green March **الزحف الاخضر**

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jamahiriya review

September 1983 No 40

□ **REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY:** On 1st September, Libyans celebrate the Fourteenth Anniversary of the Al Fateh Revolution, launched by Muammer Qadhafi and his fellow Free Unionist Officers in 1969. A special report starting on page 9 examines the ideals and principles of the Revolution, and highlights the transformation of Libya from a feudal monarchy, controlled from Washington and London, into an independent country practicing democracy at home and non-alignment abroad.

A separate report on page 8 focusses on Muammer Qadhafi himself, looking at the influences which have moulded and inspired his thinking, and highlighting the Reagan administration's dangerously distorted view of the Libyan revolutionary leader.

□ **CONFLICT IN CHAD:** Recent weeks have seen an escalation of the American disinformation campaign which falsely portrays the Jamahiriya as the 'aggressor' in the Chadian civil war, and alleges that Libyan armed forces have intervened in the conflict. On page 11 we report an interview granted by Muammer Qadhafi to US television networks, in which he spelled out the Jamahiriya's policy on Chad, stressing that no Libyan forces have intervened, and that Libya favours a peaceful resolution of the war, based on reconciliation between the warring factions, and the withdrawal of all foreign bases.

In separate reports Dr Alan George details the western media's role in disseminating Washington's black propaganda against the Jamahiriya, and Jon Bearman reviews Libya's efforts, stretching over many years, to bring peace and stability to Chad.

□ **ARAB UNITY:** Libya is playing a key role in efforts to unify the Arab countries of north west Africa, as a step towards comprehensive Arab unity. On page 14 Robert Miller reports Muammer Qadhafi's recent visits to Tunisia, Algeria and Mauritania, and reviews the practical steps being taken to forge new links between the Jamahiriya and its western neighbours.

EDITORIAL

Why Reagan fears the Al Fateh Revolution4
The real threat to Africa4

PANORAMA NEWS REVIEW

US exercises 'violate Arab sovereignty'5
US condemned at UN5
Agreement with Democratic Yemen5
'We will defend our homeland'5
Support from Kuwait and UAE6
Fatah revolutionaries demand armed struggle6
Students harassed6
Ties reaffirmed with Benin6
Nasser's revolution honoured6
Key role for revolutionary committees7
France loses another friend7
Omani students affirm progressive stance7
Islamic centres discussed7
Ancient ship discovered7
Donation for African youth7

COVER STORY

Qadhafi: the man and the myth8
Political independence and economic freedom9
Power to the people10

SPECIAL REPORT

Americans hear the Libyan case11
America's media mouthpiece12
The Libyan quest for peace13

ARAB HOMELAND

Maghreb unity gathers momentum14

ARCHITECTURE

Towards a revolutionary architecture15

BOOKS

West Bank studies mark 16 years of Israeli occupation ..16

TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

China exhibits17
LPG exports to rise17
Maltese goods on show17
Studies for new industries17
Success for Turkish firms17
New farms for southern desert17
Smelter contracts draw near18
South Korean role in desert pipeline18
Progress in agriculture18

JAMAHIRIYA MONITOR

International, Arab Homeland and Jamahiriya diary ..19

Why Reagan fears the Al Fateh Revolution

AS THE Libyan people celebrate this month's Fourteenth Anniversary of their Al Fateh Revolution, launched on 1st September 1969, they have much reason for pride. In the short space of fourteen years, their country's political and economic face has been transformed. Under the ousted regime of King Idris, Libya was ruled not for the benefit of its people, but as a strategic and economic asset of the west, principally the United States and Britain, which installed and maintained the regime. Oil multinationals robbed the Libyan people of their most valuable natural resource, exorbiting huge profits and starving Libya of sorely needed development funds.

The Free Unionist Officers, headed by Muammer Qadhafi, insisted, above all else, that the destiny and resources of Libya should be controlled by the Libyan people, free from domination by Washington, London or any other foreign capital. The British and American military bases which underpinned western influence in Libya were expelled. The oil multinationals were forced to pay fair prices for Libyan oil, and the resultant increased oil income was invested energetically in ambitious programmes of social and economic development which have brought unprecedented benefits to the Libyan people.

In Arab and international affairs, the revolutionary leadership has rigorously pursued policies of positive non-alignment, rejecting the hegemony of any of the world's superpowers. The urgent need for Arab unity has consistently been stressed as the only way of pooling Arab resources for the battle against Zionist expansionism in Palestine, while at the same time denying western powers the opportunity to reassert their influence in the region by implementing divide and rule tactics, setting off one Arab country against another, and weakening them all.

The West, headed by the United States, has never forgiven the Al Fateh Revolution for the blows it has struck against their domination of Libya and the Arab homeland. From the

earliest days of the Revolution, Washington and its regional surrogate regimes have missed no opportunity to threaten the Libyan people and their revolutionary leadership, and to sabotage the country's development programme.

This year's Revolution Anniversary celebrations were staged under the shadow of the latest escalation by the United States of its campaign of intimidation. Off the Libyan coast, the nuclear-powered US aircraft carrier *Eisenhower* cruised, in the hope of provoking an armed clash with Libyan forces. In Chad, the United States was moving to establish a firm military presence, in the hope that the civil war there might offer an opportunity for an invasion of the Jamahiriya. The boycott of Libyan oil sales in the United States, imposed by Reagan in March last year, remained in force.

Yet the Libyan people see these desperate efforts by Washington to undermine their political and economic independence as a back handed compliment. If the Al Fateh Revolution had failed in its objectives, if the revolutionary leadership in Tripoli had wavered, and betrayed their original ideals, America would not be showing such alarm.

Washington knows that the Jamahiriya poses no threat to its neighbours, and when Ronald Reagan accuses Tripoli of 'expansionism' in the Third World, he is in fact betraying his concern that other nations have found much to admire in the Libyan Revolution, and are following Tripoli's lead. It is for exactly the same reason that Reagan fears other progressive countries, such as Nicaragua in Central America.

There is no sign that Washington's hostility to the Libyan people and their revolutionary leadership will abate. On the contrary, the coming years will doubtless see an escalation of American campaigns, ranging from military intervention to virulent disinformation, against the Jamahiriya. The Libyan people, however, will not yield. They will not surrender their hard-won gains. If Ronald Reagan believes otherwise, he is chasing an illusion.

The real threat to Africa

IF THE western media are to be believed, the armies of the Libyan Jamahiriya are streaming south into Chad, to fulfill Tripoli's dreams of carving out a 'vast Islamic empire' in Africa. Again, if the media are to be believed, the Libyan 'threat' to Africa does not end at the southern frontiers of Chad. An astonishing array of countries are alleged to be in imminent danger of falling under Libya's sway.

Only last month, Liberian dictator Samuel Doe visited the Zionist state, where the Israeli intelligence agency Mossad reportedly shared with him their 'information' on the Jamahiriya's designs against Liberia and other African countries. All this was dutifully reported by the western press, but nowhere was any concrete evidence offered as to the exact nature of the supposed danger from Libya.

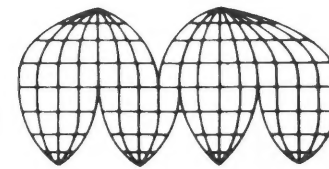
The Libyan Jamahiriya has, time and again, spelled out its position on Chad. Tripoli views the conflict as a civil war, as an internal affair which can be settled not by armed force, but by negotiations and reconciliation between the warring factions. Tripoli has stressed the urgent need for a withdrawal of all foreign forces from Chad, to allow negotiations to proceed. This position is identical to that of the Organisation of African Unity.

Despite Tripoli's firm and repeated denials that its forces have intervened in Chad, the western media persists in its allegations, without providing a shred of supporting evidence from independent sources.

One of the OAU's most sacred principles, to which Libya firmly subscribes, is that African affairs should be decided by Africans, and that the continent should not fall victim to meddling by foreign powers intent on furthering their own strategic interests at the expense of the independence of African peoples. This principle has been flagrantly violated by the illegal regime of Hissene Habre in N'Djamena by calling in foreign forces to protect itself from the liberation army of the legitimate Chadian President, Goukouni Oueddei.

The African continent is being opened-up for a resurgence of neo-colonialist domination. The western media are right about one thing. There is a threat to Chad, and to the rest of Africa. It comes not from the Jamahiriya, however, but from the United States, France, Israel and their local client regimes, which are undermining the continent's independence, and dragging it into the western sphere of influence. If the process is not checked, Africa will become yet another arena for the global confrontation between the superpowers of west and east, with African nations paying the price.

A monthly
review of
Libyan, Islamic
and Third World
affairs



PANORAMA
news review

US exercises 'violate Arab sovereignty'

'A GRAVE insult to the dignity of the Arab nation, and a grave violation of its independence'. That is how Muammer Qadhafi characterised the massive United States military manoeuvres staged last month in Egypt, Sudan, Oman and Somalia.

In an urgent message to Arab kings and presidents, disclosed by the Jamahiriya news agency JANA on 5th August, the Libyan leader insisted that the American manoeuvres constituted 'an occupation of Arab territory', and stressed that they were 'not separate from the series of occupations of the Arab homeland which began in 1948 with the occupation of Palestine and continued in 1982 with the (Israeli) occupation of Lebanon'.

The month-long manoeuvres began on 10th August, and involved land, sea and air forces from America's Central Command — as the Rapid Development Force was re-named in January this year. 5,500 US troops landed in Egypt alone, and the Pentagon has confirmed that the exercises were the largest American show of force ever staged in the Arab homeland.

The Pentagon claimed that the manoeuvres were designed to underline America's commitment to the defence of the Arab countries involved. But in his message to Arab leaders, Muammer Qadhafi demanded: 'Who has granted America the right to defend those countries, and against whom, when the real danger comes from America itself?'. The United States, he added, had 'no right to defend anything except its own territory'.

Another pretext for the exercises was that they were for training. A commentary from JANA on 7th July ridiculed this suggestion, pointing out that US troops 'can train quite adequately on American territory, and an American soldier can acquire fighting skills on American land, not Arab land'.

JANA added that the manoeuvres were in fact 'directly linked to the present events in Lebanon, the Gulf and Chad', and were designed to intimidate the Arab nation into accepting America's writ in the region.

Similar condemnations of the US manoeuvres have come from



Lt-Gen Abdul Halim Abu Ghazala, Egyptian Defence Minister (left) with US Lt-Gen Robert Kingston reviewing joint manoeuvres

other progressive countries, including Ethiopia, Democratic Yemen and Syria. On 4th August Democratic Yemen referred to the exercises as 'provocative measures aimed at increasing tension and threatening the security, stability and peace of the entire region'.

Fearful of the Egyptian people's response to the arrival of thousands of United States troops, the Cairo regime of Hosni Mubarak imposed a news blackout on the exercises. On 8th August the *International Herald Tribune* quoted a US official in Egypt as saying: 'We're so low profile we're practically non-existent'.

The paper added: 'US and western diplomatic sources said President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt appeared sensitive in general to allegations by some Arab nations (sic) that Egypt was little more than a Middle East military surrogate for the United States'.

US condemned at UN

AMERICA'S COMMITMENT to world peace has been called into question during a special session of the United Nations Security Council, convened last month at the request of the Jamahiriya to examine US military provocations along Libya's borders.

Condemning American military posturings in the Arab homeland, the Syrian Representative declared that the US posed a serious threat to international peace. If America were truly concerned with international harmony, it 'should have backed OAU efforts to solve the

Chadian problem within an African framework', he said. Instead, Washington had chosen to send in military personnel in a move calculated to escalate the conflict.

He added that if Washington was truly concerned with world peace, it would have prevented last year's Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the Zionist state's annexation of Arab Jerusalem and the Golan Heights.

America's threats against the Jamahiriya were also condemned by the Representative of Democratic Yemen, who called on all countries, and especially those in the Arab homeland, to stand by the Libyan people in resisting US threats.

The Soviet Union's delegate pointed out that the Jamahiriya, like Nicaragua, had fallen victim of threats and terrorism from the United States merely because it had dared to pursue independent foreign policies.

UN Representatives from Afghanistan, Guyana, Vietnam, Laos and Iran also added their voices to the condemnation of American intimidation of the Jamahiriya.

Agreement with Democratic Yemen

EXCHANGES OF visits and expertise are called for in a co-operation agreement initiated in Tripoli on 11th August by the Secretary of the Jamahiriya's General Farmers' Congress and the President of the Yemen Farmers' Union.

The accord was the latest in a

series of bilateral agreements which come in the framework of a unionist agreement concluded in July last year. This called for joint meetings of the Jamahiriya's General People's Committee and the Yemen cabinet, and between the Yemen Supreme People's Council and the General People's Congress, with the aim of forging common internal policies as a step towards ultimate unity.

The two countries' foreign policies are already closely coordinated. Tripoli and Aden are both members of the Arab Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, formed to counter the US-sponsored Camp David accords. They are also joined, together with Ethiopia, in the Red Sea Pact, which was set up in 1981 to guard against growing US military intervention in the Red Sea and Horn of Africa.

'We will defend our homeland'

A PLEDGE that Libya's students are ready to take up arms to repel a possible military aggression by the United States has come from the Foreign Liaison Bureau of the Popular Committee of the Jamahiriya's Students' Union. In a statement on 12th August, the Libyan students affirmed that America was 'preparing a new aggression against the people of the Jamahiriya', and declared that 'all students of the Jamahiriya have decided to take up arms in defence of their homeland'.

The students' Foreign Liaison Bureau stressed that American

▷ intimidation of the Jamahiriya was part of a global strategy to subvert the freedom of all peoples who rejected domination by Washington. The US was mounting 'onslaughts against the Caribbean region, Latin America, the Arab region, Africa and South East Asia', with the objective of 'total hegemony over these areas, and the submission of every dissenting voice'.

On Chad, the students stressed that the conflict was 'a domestic issue', and, rejecting the intervention of all foreign forces, they declared that 'the solution to this problem can only be Africa'.

The Al Fateh Revolution stresses the need for every citizen to be trained for the defence of the country, and students receive military training at their schools and colleges. On 15th August Tripoli radio announced that this year's summer military training session for students had started on 16th July, and would continue until 26th August. It added that both male and female students, having studied the theory of air, sea and land defence, were now being given practical training in the field.

Support from Kuwait and UAE

THE WESTERN media, taking their cue from Washington, habitually portray the Libyan Jamahiriya as being an outcast in the Arab nation, shunned by the more conservative Arab countries because of its revolutionary policies. The reality is very different. This year alone, Muammer Qadhafi has paid official visits to Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Jordan, which are generally considered to be amongst the more conservative Arab countries, and Tripoli's harmonious relations with Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, two other conservatives, were highlighted last month.

On 10th August Kuwaiti Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Sheikh Ahmad Jaber received the Secretary of the Libyan diplomatic mission in Kuwait, who briefed him on America's current military threats against the Jamahiriya. Afterwards, Sheikh Jaber affirmed Kuwait's solidarity with Libya, and with any other Arab country facing foreign aggression.

Earlier, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al Nahyan, President of the UAE, received an important message from Muammer Qadhafi, dealing with bilateral relations and wider Arab issues, believed to include the US military build-up in the region. The UAE news agency WAM said on 7th August that the message was conveyed by Mr Ramadan al Farjani, Acting Secretary of the Libyan Brotherhood Bureau in the



Gulf leaders Sheikh Jaber (left) and Sheikh Zayed

UAE federal capital of Abu Dhabi, in a meeting with the UAE President in the Bateen Palace. Also present was Sheikh Rashid bin Ahmad al Mualla, member of the UAE Supreme Council and Ruler of the Emirate of Umm al Qaiwain.

Fatah revolutionaries demand armed struggle

A HIGH-powered delegation from the New Revolutionary Movement in the Fatah Palestinian resistance organisation has been in Tripoli for discussions with the Jamahiriya's revolutionary leadership. Headed by Abu Saleh, a member of the movement's Command Council, the Palestinian team met with Muammer Qadhafi on 15th August for wide ranging talks centreing on the rebellion against Yasser Arafat's leadership of Fatah, and on the dangers facing the Arab nation from the Zionists' invasion of Lebanon and the US military build-up in the region. Earlier, the delegation conferred with Staff Major Abdesalam Jalloud and with Brigadier Abu Bakr Younis Jaber, General Commander of the Libyan Armed Forces.

The New Revolutionary Movement was formed by the Palestinian fighters based in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, who in May launched a revolt against Yasser Arafat's leadership of the Fatah organisation. The rebels, headed by Abu Musa and Abu Saleh, demand an end to Arafat's flirtations with US plans for a 'solution' to the Arab-Zionist conflict. In particular, they reject the Reagan plan, which calls for Arab recognition of the Zionist state and for the establishment of a federal state of Jordan and the West Bank.

The Fatah rebels demand a return to the original goals of their movement, with a renewed



emphasis on armed struggle as the only means of liberating their occupied homeland.

Addressing a press conference in Tripoli on 14th August, Abu Saleh confirmed that the Fatah uprising had been staged to 'Protect the continuity of the Palestinian armed resistance'.

He added that the principled stands of the Jamahiriya and Syria against American and Zionist designs against the integrity and independence of the Arab homeland had been an inspiration to the Fatah rebels. The Jamahiriya, he affirmed, 'has repeatedly defied America, while Syria has stood equally steadfast in its confrontation with the Zionist enemy and US schemes'.

Students harassed

IN A grave escalation of the Reagan Administration's provocations against the Arab nation, nine Libyan students at American colleges have been thrown into a detention camp, pending deportation. Observers believe that the move is clearly a prelude to a systematic campaign of harassment and intimidation of Libyan citizens in the United States.

The students, five of whom were studying at the Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University in Daytona Beach, Florida, were arrested last month on the direct orders of the US Secretary of State George Shultz, who asserted that they constituted 'security risks'.

The nine were incarcerated in Florida's Krome detention camp, and were released only on bail of \$3,000 each. Deportation hearings were scheduled for the end of August.

In March, Ronald Reagan stepped up his efforts to sabotage the Jamahiriya's development programme by barring Libyans from studying 'aviation maintenance, flight operations or nuclear-

related subjects or training'. Libyans enrolled for such studies were declared 'threats to US security', who could be deported.

The restrictions on Libyan students were angrily criticised at the time by the US academic community, and last month's arrests brought a further chorus of condemnation. Georgia Stewart, spokesperson for the Washington-based National Association for Foreign Students Affairs, said: 'to selectively bar students on the basis of nationality is a threat to our own educational system'.

Richard Shadyac, a prominent Arab-American lawyer, described the arrests as 'an end to academic freedom', saying that they set a 'tragic precedent' for American higher education. He predicted that US immigration officials would soon launch a 'dragnet' for Libyan students elsewhere in the United States.

The most alarming aspect of the arrests was that the nine students were not even infringing the regulations promulgated by the Reagan administration in March. Ms Charlotte Skinner, Embry-Riddle's Director of Foreign Student Services, confirmed: 'Their visas were valid in accordance with the 12th March ruling, and none was studying the prohibited areas'.

Ties reaffirmed with Benin

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's close ties with the west African republic of Benin were reaffirmed on 1st August during a meeting in Tripoli between Mr Abdul Hafez al Zulaytini, Libya's Secretary for Education, and Mr Armand Monteiro, Beninese Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research. High on the agenda of their talks was co-operation in the fields of education and culture.

Tripoli's links with Benin go back to the west African country's revolution of 1972 when Lt Col Mathieu Kerekou became head of state. Muammer Qadhafi visited Benin last March, as part of a tour which also took in Nigeria and Upper Volta.

Nasser's Revolution honoured

LIBYANS THROUGHOUT the Jamahiriya staged a series of rallies and marches on 23rd July to mark the Thirty First Anniversary of the Egyptian Revolution, when the corrupt regime of King Farouk was toppled by Gamal Abdel Nasser

and his Free Officers' Movement.

A highlight of the celebrations was a rally in the Libyan capital, Tripoli, at which Staff Major Abdesalam Jalloud gave an address emphasising the key role of the Egyptian Revolution in heightening nationalist awareness amongst the Arab people.

Also present at the Tripoli rally were Mr Tawfiq Salha, a member of the Regional Command of the Syrian Ba'ath Party, and Mr Tayseer Kubba, a member of the Politburo of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, one of the Palestinian resistance groups linked in the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Key role for revolutionary committees

THE MOVEMENT of Revolutionary Committees lies at the heart of the Libyan people's political, social and economic progress, and if the movement were to lose momentum, all the Jamahiriya's gains would be dissipated, Muammer Qadhafi told a Preparatory Meeting in Tripoli of the Sixth Conference of the Movement of Revolutionary Committees.

Under Libya's jamahiri system of direct democracy, citizens determine their destiny by participating in the debates of a country-wide network of Basic People's Congresses (BPCs), which formulate domestic and foreign policies. Parallel to this is a Movement of Revolutionary Committees, comprising individuals dedicated to the ideals of the Al Fateh Revolution. The Revolutionary Committees have no executive power. They are charged solely with propagating the message of the Revolution, and with explaining the principles which should underlie the decisions of the BPCs.

Addressing the Tripoli meeting on 12th August, Muammer Qadhafi said that the Sixth Conference of the Revolutionary Committees would focus on wass of expanding the movement 'at home and abroad'.

On 15th August the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed that the Sixth Conference was due to start 'during the next few days'.

France loses another friend

IN A serious blow to French influence in Africa, the regime of Jean-Baptiste Ouédraogo in Upper Volta was ousted on 4th August in a revolution headed by the former Prime Minister, Captain Thomas Sankara.



LIBYAN AND Arab students staged an angry demonstration outside the American Embassy in London last month, in protest at Washington's military provocations against the Jamahiriya and the Arab nation. In recent weeks the United States has staged military shows of force, involving thousands of American soldiers, sailors and airmen, in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and Oman. American AWACS spy-planes have been despatched to Sudan, with a contingent of 550 soldiers, ready to intervene in the Chadian civil war. US weapons have been pouring into the Chadian capital, N'Djamena, along with American 'advisers'. The US nuclear-powered aircraft carrier Eisenhower has been cruising near Libyan territorial waters and, following new Iranian victories in the Gulf war, US warships in the Indian Ocean and Arabian Gulf regions have been placed on full alert.

The Revolution came after a protracted power struggle between leftist and rightist factions of the Ouédraogo government. In May, Captain Sankara and other progressive ministers were dismissed and arrested, in a bid by the rightists, headed by the President, to neutralise their opponents.

Upper Volta is a former French colony, and Paris has maintained close links with rightists in the political and military establishment. The dismissals and arrests of Captain Sankara and his colleagues were reportedly encouraged by the Mitterand government.

The Upper Volta Revolution bodes well for relations between the Libyan and Volatian peoples. Muammer Qadhafi visited Upper Volta during his recent tour of West Africa, and Captain Sankara visited Libya when he was premier under the old regime.

Shortly after Captain Sankara's assumption of power last month, Muammer Qadhafi conferred with him by telephone, and expressed his 'highest esteem' for the Upper Volta Revolution.

Omani students affirm progressive stance

OMANI STUDENTS meeting in the Jamahiriya have affirmed their progressive Arab nationalist stance, and stressed their commitment to policies of Arab independence and non-alignment. The Third General Conference of the National Union of Students of Oman, meeting in Tripoli's Al Fateh Cultural Complex in August, also firmly condemned the links between the United States and the

regime of Sultan Qaboos in Oman, which were highlighted by last month's US military exercises in the Gulf country.

Amongst those attending the Tripoli conference were delegates from the Executive Committee of the Omani National Students' Union and from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, which has been fighting a protracted guerrilla war against the British- and American-backed Qaboos regime. Expressing support for the Omani delegates were representatives from the students unions of Democratic Yemen, Syria, Bahrain and the Libyan Jamahiriya.

Islamic centres discussed

THE AGENDA for a meeting in Tripoli of the Libyan-United Arab Emirates Joint Commission for the Establishment of Islamic Centres was at the centre of discussions in Abu Dhabi on 23rd July between Sheikh Muhammad Hassan al Khazraji, the UAE Minister for Islamic Affairs, and Mr Ali Mahmoud Maria, Secretary of the Jamahiriya's Brotherhood Bureau in the UAE. Also reviewed were ways in which the two countries could broaden their co-operation in the field of Islamic affairs.

The Commission for the Establishment of Islamic Centres was established in 1975, and its capital was recently raised from \$24 million to \$42 million. Last year the commission established one Islamic centre in each of Burundi, Rwanda and Togo and five centres in southern Sudan. Each centre includes a mosque, a clinic, lecture halls and sports facilities.

At a meeting in June this year between the Commission's Sec-

retary General, Mr Tahir Muhammad al Shuweihidi, and Mr Saqr al Murri, Under Secretary at the UAE Ministry of Justice and Islamic Affairs, proposals were discussed for the establishment of new Islamic centres in Mali and Gabon.

Ancient ship discovered

DIVERS HAVE discovered an Arab ship which sank about one thousand years ago off the small town of Marsala in western Sicily, it was disclosed on 29th July.

The wreck, which measures eighteen metres by five metres, was loaded with clay vases, and archaeologists said that it was probably built between the ninth and eleventh centuries, at a time when Sicily was a part of the medieval Arab Empire.

The exact location of the discovery is being kept secret until work can begin on its preservation.

Donation for African youth

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has donated 50,000 shillings to the fund set up by the Tanzanian government to cover the expenses of young Tanzanians who attended last month's Second African Youth Festival, which was hosted by the Jamahiriya. Dar as Salaam radio said on 9th August that the donation was presented by Mr Bashir Salih Bashir, Libya's envoy in the east African country. It added that a total of 4.2 million shillings was needed to send a 150-strong delegation to Libya, of which 3.4 million shillings had already been raised.

Qadhafi: the man and the myth



DESPITE THE Jamahiriya's central role in Arab and Third World affairs, the thinking of revolutionary leader Muammar Qadhafi is rarely analysed in the western media with the care it deserves. Recently, the London Observer offered a thoughtful profile of Colonel Qadhafi which highlighted the dangerously distorted portrayals disseminated by the Reagan administration in Washington.

LIBYAN REVOLUTIONARY leader Muammar Qadhafi has for fourteen years occupied a key place on the international stage, yet the western media have rarely accorded the man and his policies the serious consideration which they merit. Instead, the media have tended merely to re-iterate the distorted and highly simplistic propaganda assiduously peddled by the White House, alleging that the Libyan leader is nothing more than a 'Soviet puppet', a 'terrorist' and a general 'troublemaker'.

The truth is very different, and on 14th August the London *Observer* newspaper presented a profile of Muammar Qadhafi which highlighted the hollowness of the myths disseminated from Washington, and offered its readers a much more thoughtful and accurate picture of the leader who has inspired and guided the Al Fateh Revolution.

Stressing that Muammar Qadhafi has been deeply influenced by his traditional upbringing, the *Observer* said that he saw himself as 'a prophet and thinker in the ancient North African tradition of the *marabout*, an itinerant holy man'. It added: 'He lives simply; he does not drink, and prays regularly'.

Colonel Qadhafi's message is both religious and political. 'He believes he has a great truth to communicate to mankind — what he calls his Third International Theory, a middle way between communism and capitalism. The principles of this theory are set out in his *Green Book*'. The *Observer* added, however, that 'Although devout, he is a progressive Muslim, and not a fundamentalist, believing in feminine emancipation and the role of women in the professions and armed services'.

Examining the roots of the Al Fateh Revolution, the *Observer* noted that when the Libyan leader was born, 41 years ago, his country was 'still one of the poorest in the world'. The young Muammar Qadhafi went to school in Sebha, a desert town in the south west, where some of his fellow-pupils were 'boys destined to become his revolutionary colleagues'. Qadhafi and his fellow students 'were stirred by the Suez war and the ideas of Arab nationalism and unity symbolised by Nasser. They saw common elements in the Libyan and Egyptian situations — especially the corrupt monarchic regimes. For them, foreign domination was epitomised by the British and American military bases and control of the newly-found oil'.

It was this foreign domination of the Libyan people and their natural resources which Muammar Qadhafi and his fellow Free Unionist Officers were determined to end. After the regime of King Idris was ousted on 1st September 1969, said the *Observer*, 'Qadhafi moved fast to assert Libya's independence and non-alignment. He negotiated the closure of the British and US military bases, partially nationalised Libyan oil production and forced through a

substantial increase in oil prices and revenues'.

Oil revolution

The paper added: 'Qadhafi paved the way for the great oil revolution — the taming of the Western oil companies by OPEC, then the huge oil price "hikes" of 1973 and 1974'. The resultant increase in Libya's oil income has been 'more than enough to finance large-scale economic development at home, including impressive housing schemes which are Qadhafi's pride'.

In Libya, Muammar Qadhafi launched the *jamahiri* system of direct democracy, in which citizens control their destinies directly by taking part in the debates of a comprehensive network of local Basic People's Congresses. The people have become directly responsible for 'all political activity and government itself'.

Internationally, said the *Observer*, revolutionary Libya has sought Arab and Islamic unity, non-alignment between the superpowers, and has maintained a principled stance in the battle against Zionist expansionism. Colonel Qadhafi has 'sought to advance the cause of Arab and Muslim unity' by seeking mergers with Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Algeria, Tunisia and Mauritania.

Libya has been 'in the vanguard of the "rejectionist" Arab states who would not accept Sadat's Jerusalem initiative and the peace treaty with Israel. Libya is now the only Arab country which still opposes any negotiated peace with Israel'.

In stark contrast to American allegations of Libyan 'expansionism', the *Observer* noted that 'Qadhafi's general international posture is far more defensive than offensive — because he feels threatened on many sides. He now feels threatened from the south, which is largely why he has again been plunged into the complex power struggle in Chad. If his protege, Goukouni, is defeated, Chad could possibly be used as a base for actions against Libya itself'.

Stressing that Muammar Qadhafi's fears are well founded, the paper confirmed that 'In recent years the United States, in association with Egypt and Sudan, has tried a number of times to organise a coup against Qadhafi. But these attempts appear to have failed because of insufficient domestic backing'. The paper stressed that there have been no serious internal challenges to the Al Fateh Revolution.

The *Observer* warned, however, that such US-engineered attempts to undermine the Revolution and its leadership could backfire seriously against US efforts to dominate the developing peoples of the Third World. 'For Qadhafi, "Nasserism" has meant not only Arab unity, but also Third World unity to bring about true independence for the Arabs and Africans. His greatest contempt is for rulers whom he considers have sold out to the West for selfish reasons. This heady message will acquire an almost prophetic force among young radicals of the Third World if he is made into a martyr'.

FOR FOURTEEN years the Al Fateh Revolution has moved to assert the sovereignty and independence of the Libyan and Arab people, and insisted on the right of all Third World nations to live in peace and dignity, free of foreign domination. To mark this year's Revolution Anniversary, Ali Aziz reviews the themes which have inspired Libya and its revolutionary era.

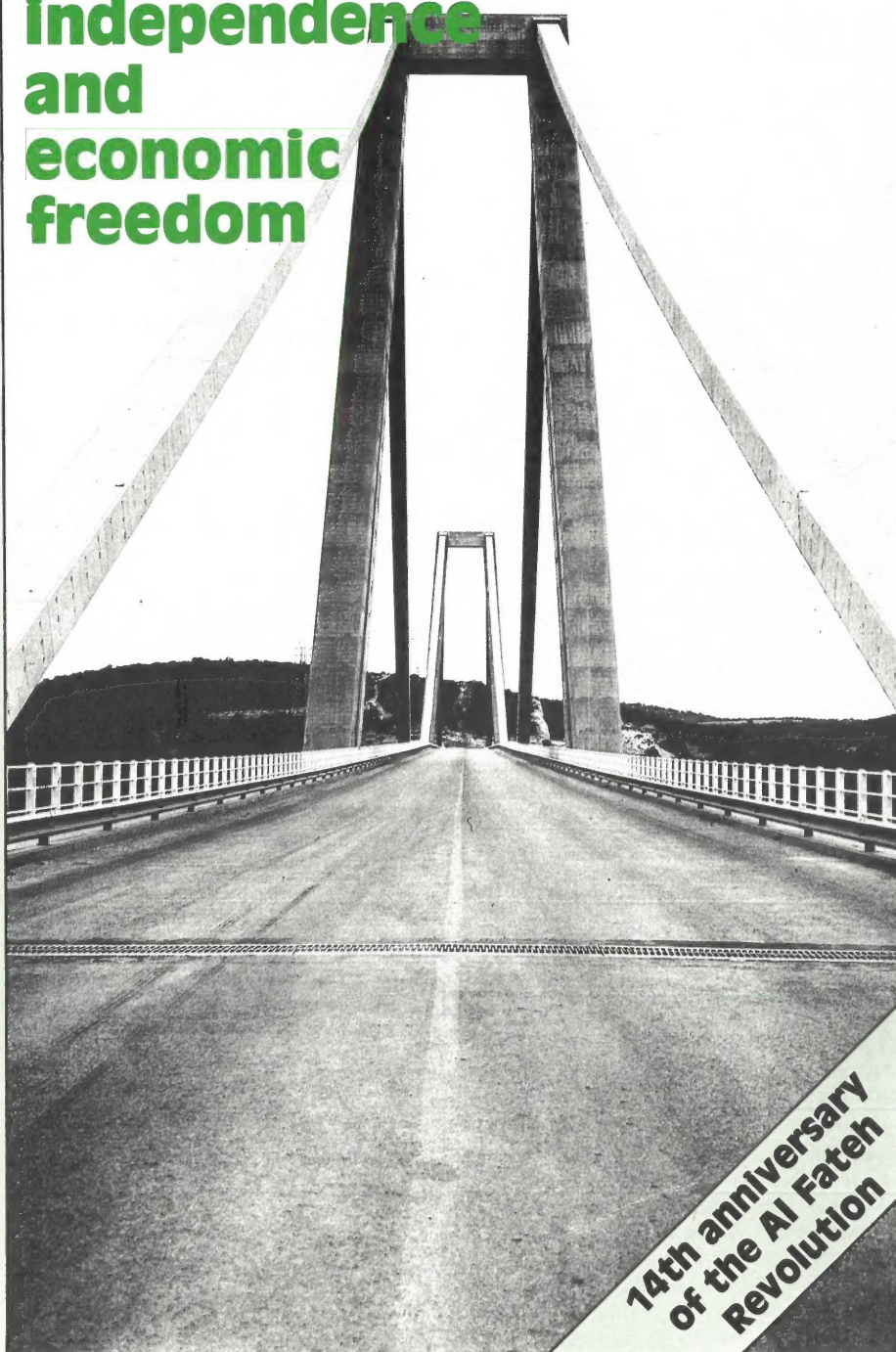
THE FREE Unionist Officers, headed by Muammar Qadhafi, who toppled the corrupt regime of King Idris Sanoussi on 1st September 1969, were determined to change the political and economic face of Libya. The young revolutionaries were inspired by the ideals of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser: socialism and democracy at home; political and economic independence for their country, and non-alignment between the world's superpowers. Moreover, they were fired with the ideals of Islam, which they saw as entirely consistent with their wider perspectives. These themes have formed the consistent framework for Libya's political and economic development in the past fourteen years.

The tasks facing the new revolutionary leadership in Tripoli were daunting. For centuries the country had been under direct foreign rule — first by the Ottoman Turks, then by the Italians, and finally the British and French. Independence in 1951 had been more nominal than real. The Idris monarchy was installed by the British, and the vital decisions affecting the Libyan people were made in London.

In the first decade of the monarchy, Libya's importance to the West was mainly strategic. It was valued for its 2,000 kilometres coastline, which dominated Mediterranean shipping lanes. It was a key link in a chain of western dominated countries stretching through Egypt and Sudan into the heart of Africa. The physical expression of Libya's strategic importance to the West was an extensive network of British and American military bases throughout the country.

With the development of the Libyan oil industry in the 1960s, however, the country took on a new significance as a vital source of cheap oil for the western industrial economies. Foreign oil companies became entrenched in the country, but few benefits accrued to the Libyan people. The monarchy was unwilling to upset its cosy rela-

Political Independence and economic freedom



Equitable oil revenues wrung from the multinationals financed an energetic development programme

tionship with its sponsors in London and Washington by demanding fair prices for Libyan oil exports.

For Muammar Qadhafi and his fellow Free Unionist Officers, it was the British and American bases which symbolised their people's subjugation to foreign interests. One of the first demands of the Revolution was the removal of the western military installations. In March 1970, a mere six months after the fall of the monarchy, the last British soldier departed. Three months later, the Stars and Stripes were hauled down for the last time from the last American base.

The military basis of western influence in Libya had been eliminated. But the revolutionary leadership were conscious that political independence depends ultimately on economic freedom. Their next target was the western oil companies which dominated the economy, extorting massive profits from the Libyan people's most valuable resource. From 1970 to 1973, the Revolution conducted a skilful campaign to wring more favourable pricing arrangements from the oil multinationals, setting one against the other, and threatening production cuts if Tripoli's pricing demands were not met. One by one, the oil com-

Power to the people

THE REVOLUTION of 1st September 1969 was not just another coup d'état, in which one oppressive elite was swapped for another. From the start, the revolutionary leadership in Tripoli intended that it should not be they, but rather the Libyan people as a whole, who controlled the country's destiny.

Soon after the ouster of the monarchy, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) was established, modelled on the organisation of the same name in Nasser's Egypt. The ASU was intended to act as a forum of free debate, which would provide a link between the leadership and the people. Instead, the ASU fell foul of bureaucracy and petty officialdom. It took on the characteristics of a formal political party, with its own rigid power structure, and came to act as a barrier to the flow of ideas.

Muammar Qadhafi concluded that all traditional governmental and party systems merely impeded the expression of the people's will. Accordingly, in 1973 he launched a cultural revolution, in which the people were urged to organise themselves directly, by forming committees to administer their places of work and study. The system, initially introduced in universities and local government establishments, proved a success, and was gradually extended.

The process culminated in March 1977, when popular organisations convened a special congress in the southern town of Sebha, where it was resolved to establish the new system of direct democracy throughout the country. A network of local Basic People's Congresses (BPCs), open to all citizens, was set up, where local and international issues are debated.

Government in the traditional sense was abolished. The functions of traditional ministries were taken over by Secretariats, administered by committees. Instead of a parliament, a General People's congress is convened regularly, at which the BPCs come together to co-ordinate their policy decisions.

In recognition of the revolutionary system of participatory democracy – termed the jamahiri system – the Sebha congress proclaimed the country a jamahiriya – a 'state of the masses'.

The principles of the jamahiri system have been set out by Muammar Qadhafi in his Green Book, which is attracting growing international interest.

Parallel with the network of BPCs is the movement of revolutionary committees, comprising individuals who are dedicated to the ideas of the Al Fateh Revolution. Their role, however, is to propagate those ideas amongst the public, and they have no executive powers. Decision-making authority rests firmly in the hands of the people themselves.

panies buckled. By the end of 1970 the posted price of Libyan oil was the highest in the world, with the exception of the United States, and a further round of price increases was secured the following year.

The Revolution then moved to secure direct Libyan participation in the oil industry and, by the end of 1973, all foreign oil operations in Libya were at least 51 per cent owned by the Libyan people.

The results for Libya were dramatic. In the 1970-74 period, Libya earned LD 4 billion from oil exports, compared with only LD 1.2 billion in the last five years of the monarchy. The increased revenues were entirely the result of the Revolution's moves against the oil multinationals, and did not reflect production increases. Exports in 1974 were in fact 52 per cent lower than in 1970, while revenues were 262 per cent higher. The income per tonne of Libyan oil had increased from a mere LD 3 in 1970 to LD 22.7 in 1974.

The Western powers have never forgiven revolutionary Libya for its moves to secure control over the oil industry, which paved the way for other members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). By taming the oil multinationals, the Al Fateh Revolution struck at the very heart of the West's systematic exploitation of the developing nations of the Third World. Much of the bitter hostility of the United States and other western powers to the Jamahiriya is rooted in the first years of the Libyan Revolution, when Muammar Qadhafi and his colleagues decisively turned the tables on the multinationals.

Energetic programme

The new oil revenues provided the essential funds for an energetic programme of economic and social development, which contrasted sharply with the casual approach of the monarchy. In the first three years of the Revolution, investment was organised in a series of annual development budgets, with allocations on a scale which dwarfed expenditure under the old regime. The annual budgets were succeeded by integrated development plans, for 1973-5 and 1976-80. The current plan, for 1981-85, calls for investment totalling \$62.5 billion.

The objective of Libya's revolutionary development programme has been to diversify the economy away from the oil industry by boosting agricultural and industrial output, and to install the roads, power and water infrastructure needed for accelerated economic expansion.

At the same time, in keeping with the egalitarian socialist principles of the Al Fateh Revolution, housing and social welfare have been accorded top priority. Hundreds of thousands of new homes have been built, a comprehensive national health service has been established, and education has been made available from primary to university levels.

Under the Idris regime, Libya functioned as an annex to the West. In 1956, for example, the British bases in Libya were used in

the invasion of Egypt by Britain, France and Israel. In contrast, revolutionary Libya has shunned foreign hegemony, and has played a leading role in the Non-Aligned Movement of Third World countries which reject roles as client states for any of the world's superpowers.

Good relations

Non-alignment, however, has not meant passivity. Tripoli has sought good relations with all foreign peoples, but insists that these ties must be mutually respectful and beneficial. This is something that the United States has proved unwilling to accept. The Soviet Union, by contrast, has proved willing to respect Libyan independence, and Tripoli has accordingly enjoyed closer relations with Moscow than with Washington.

America's unstinting support for the Zionists in their expansionist wars against the Arab nation, and the Soviet Union's consistent sympathy with the Arabs, has underpinned the Jamahiriya's relationship with the Soviet Union.

Having itself thrown off the yoke of western colonialist domination, it was natural that revolutionary Libya should empathise with liberation movements struggling against settler regimes in southern Africa and Palestine, and against US-backed dictatorships in Africa, Latin America and Asia. In the revolutionary era, Libyan support for the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and for the African National Congress and the South West People's Organisation, has been consistent.

The revolutionary leadership in Tripoli perceived, however, as did Nasser in Egypt, that the liberation of Palestine depends on a pooling of Arab resources, and that freedom in southern Africa depends on a joint endeavour by African nations. At the same time, Libya has been consistently on guard against western divide-and-rule tactics in Africa and the Arab homeland, in which one regime is set against another, to weaken both and open the doors to foreign influence. If liberation for Palestine and southern Africa depends on Arab and African unity, so too does wider African and Arab independence. Accordingly, Arab and African unity have become central Libyan policy objectives.

For fourteen years the United States and its regional surrogate regimes have sought relentlessly to undermine the Al Fateh Revolution, employing military threats and provocations, organising coup attempts, imposing economic blockades and waging a virulent campaign of disinformation in which the Jamahiriya's non-alignment is portrayed as 'Communism', its support for liberation struggles as 'terrorism', and its moves to secure Libyan control over the oil industry as 'oil blackmail'. For the Libyan people, such moves to destabilise their Revolution and leadership confirm the Al Fateh Revolution's international impact, and underline the inspiration it provides to oppressed peoples of the Third World.

THE REAGAN administration's concerted efforts to confuse the American public as to the real issues at stake in Chad were dealt a serious blow on 12th August, when Muammar Qadhafi granted a wide-ranging interview to the American ABC, NBC, CBS, and CNN television stations, which was transmitted live via satellite to millions of Americans. For most viewers, it was the first opportunity to hear the Libyan position on the conflict, which stands in stark contrast to the propaganda version coming from Washington and its surrogate regime of Hissene Habre in the Chadian capital of N'Djamena.

The Libyan leader firmly rejected allegations of Libyan military intervention in the Chadian conflict, stressing that the Jamahiriya continued to be neutral in the civil war, unlike the United States, France and Zaire, which had openly intervened to escalate the conflict into an international crisis.

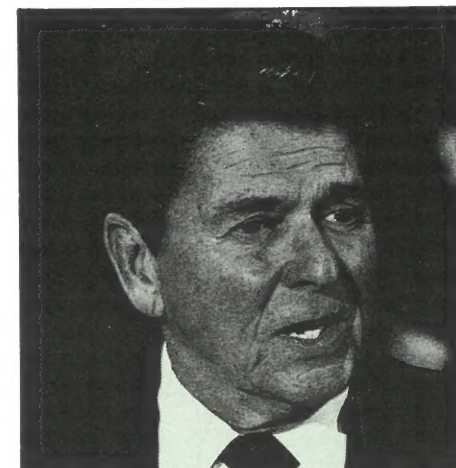
Muammar Qadhafi also dismissed claims that American satellites and other surveillance equipment had confirmed the presence of Libyan armed forces in Chad. The Jamahiriya, he emphasised, 'has no air or land military activities there. Our borders with Chad have been closed for some time'. There was not a shred of evidence to support allegations of Libyan military involvement, he declared, noting that the Jamahiriya had itself called on the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to send a fact-finding mission to the war zone to establish the truth, but that the proposal had been rejected by the Habre regime.

Muammar Qadhafi confirmed that the Jamahiriya had in the past backed the liberation forces of Goukouni Oueddei, the legitimate Chadian President, but he said that this support had ended 'a long time ago'. He explained: 'Goukouni does not need our help, because he is strong enough, and has enough weapons from the past, and needs no help from Libya or any other country.'

Expressing confidence in the final outcome of the Chadian conflict, Colonel Qadhafi affirmed: 'I believe that Goukouni Oueddei will win this civil war, and will not need any outside help, because he represents the majority of the Chadian people, while Habre represents only a minority'.

The Libyan leader stressed that the Jamahiriya hoped for a peaceful resolution of the conflict: 'We want peace in Chad, which will be achieved through national reconciliation between the warring factions. We want this war to end as soon as possible'. The problem, he explained, was that 'America, Zaire and France are trying to escalate the conflict', and the prime mover in these efforts was the United States.

Ridiculing American allegations that the Jamahiriya sought a sphere of influence in Chad and Africa, Colonel Qadhafi insisted: 'We do not seek influence in any part of the world. Such a policy characterises the imperialists. It is they who try to dominate and spread their influence in the world'.



Reagan: old-fashioned colonialism

Americans hear the Libyan case

MUAMMAR QADHAFI has gone over Ronald Reagan's head, and addressed the American public directly, in a bid to counter the pernicious disinformation campaign being waged by the White House, alleging Libyan military intervention in Chad. The Libyan leader stressed that the Jamahiriya is not involved in Chad, and that it regards a peaceful resolution of the conflict as an urgent priority.

In this respect, the Libyan leader pointed to President Reagan's recent explicit assertion that Chad did not fall into America's sphere of influence, and that it came within the French orbit. 'This is the language of imperialism and old-fashioned colonialism', declared Colonel Qadhafi. 'Chad belongs to the Chadians, Africa to the Africans, as much as Libya belongs to the Libyans'.

Imperialist

Reagan's statement was extraordinary, he continued. It implied that the peoples of the world were important only in so far as they fell within one or other foreign sphere of influence. Reagan's assertion implied that 'no one is free. It means Chad is not free, and that what is taking place there is an issue concerning imperialist countries such as America and France. We are totally

opposed to this. Chad is not part of the zone of influence of any country. It belongs to the Chadian people,' he affirmed.

Despite external meddling in the Chadian civil war, however, Muammar Qadhafi saw no prospect of a direct confrontation between Libyan armed forces, on the one hand, and French and US forces on the other. 'This will not happen', he declared, 'because we have no intention whatsoever of intervening in Chad. Our forces are not even deployed along Chad's frontier'.

The Libyan leader was hopeful that the involvement of French troops in Chad would not lead to a total disruption of relations with Paris, and he confirmed that Tripoli and Paris were in contact with a view to securing peace in Chad. 'Relations between Libya and France are good, and there are continued contacts between the two countries. We hope that France will help to achieve a peaceful solution in Chad,' he declared.

Reaffirming Tripoli's consistent position, the Libyan leader said: 'We consider that the Chadian conflict is a civil war – a struggle for power between Goukouni Oueddei and Hissene Habre. We support the efforts of the OAU to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict, without resort to military force'.

Pointing out that America's military threats and provocations against the Jamahiriya had failed to isolate the Libyan people from their Arab and African brethren, Muammar Qadhafi affirmed that Tripoli was receiving messages of support from Arab leaders almost daily, expressing solidarity against the threat of US aggression launched from Chad and the Mediterranean.

The hostile posture of the regimes in Egypt, Sudan and Zaire, he added, was not typical. They were 'agents of the United States, mere puppets, and they are a minority in Africa. The majority supports Libya', he affirmed.

Muammar Qadhafi stressed that while Tripoli was anxious to avoid military conflict with the United States, the Jamahiriya would act firmly in defence of its territory. Asked whether armed conflict might erupt if the US aircraft carrier *Eisenhower*, sailing off Libya's coast, entered the Gulf of Sirte, which is part of Libya's territorial waters, he declared: 'We hope that this will not happen. We are trying to avoid confrontation with America, and other countries, but we are ready to defend our lands. The Gulf of Sirte is part of Libya's territorial waters, and we declare our readiness to fight for the gulf, because this issue is related to the security of our country. We will not allow any foreign military penetration of the gulf, whether this is by the *Eisenhower* or any other warship belonging to any other country'.

Likewise, if the American AWACS spyplanes based in Egypt and Sudan were deployed against Libya, 'We will try to destroy them, as a matter of self-defence', declared Muammar Qadhafi.

SINCE THE start of the present flare-up of the Chadian civil war, the western media, taking their cue from the White House and its surrogate regime of Hissene Habre in N'Djamena, has presented a mischievously distorted view of Libya's stance, alleging that Libyan forces are directly involved in the conflict and that Tripoli is an 'aggressor'. In response, the Libyan People's Bureau in London has sent a series of letters to British dailies, stressing that no Libyan forces have entered Chad, and that Tripoli seeks a peaceful resolution of the conflict, based on reconciliation between the warring factions and the withdrawal of all foreign forces. The Bureau has warned the press that they have, in effect, joined forces with the US in a campaign of disinformation designed to prepare world opinion for a military assault on the Jamahiriya.

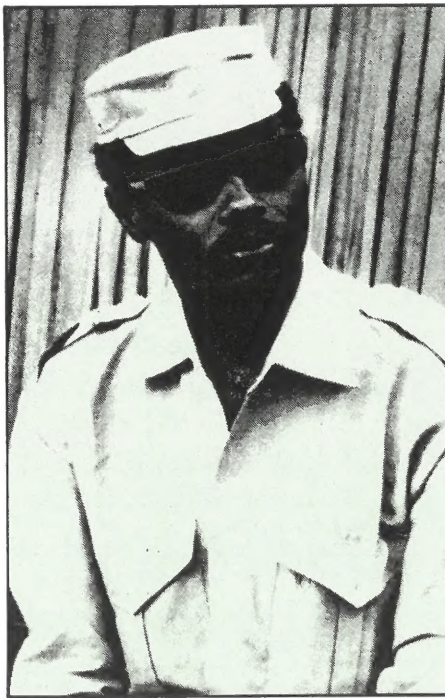
The main thrust of the media campaign has been that Libyan armed forces have intervened directly in the Chadian civil war. Not a shred of independent evidence has been produced in support, however, and the media have simply parroted the claims emanating from Washington, Paris and Hissene Habre's rebel regime in N'Djamena. Time and again in recent weeks, propaganda claims have been presented as fact, while the Libyan position has simply been ignored.

A few examples illustrate the pattern. On 11th August the *Times* declared: 'The oasis town of Faya Largeau appeared ready last night to fall under the onslaught of Libyan and rebel forces, western military sources said'. (my italics). The day before, the *Daily Telegraph* revealed: 'A western diplomatic source said that there had been at least three (Libyan) air strikes' on Faya Largeau. Earlier, on 6th August, the *Daily Mirror* offered 'US intelligence sources' as the origin of a claim that Libyan aircraft were bombing Faya Largeau with cluster and phosphorous bombs.

The same format was adopted for reporting the alleged capture of a Libyan pilot by Habre's forces. On 8th August the *Scotsman* declared: 'Chad forces fighting Libyan-backed rebels have shot down a Libyan warplane over the northern town of Faya-Largeau and captured its pilot, the *Chad Embassy in Paris said yesterday*'.

In fact, Tripoli has insisted that the pilot, who was later paraded before the world's press in N'Djamena, had been captured by Habre two years ago, when Libyan armed forces were engaged, at the request of President Goukouni Oueddei's government, in helping to quell the rebellion launched by Hissene Habre with US and Sudanese backing. The pilot's capture was announced at the time by the Sudanese and Egyptian news agencies.

To bolster his desperate pleas for increased US military support, Hissene Habre has played on President Reagan's obsessive preoccupation with 'the Soviet menace'. The media has dutifully bolstered the message. Take the *Daily Telegraph* on 14th August: 'Libya has in recent years



Habre: playing on Reagan's obsessive preoccupation

America's media mouthpiece

WESTERN PUBLIC perceptions of the Chadian conflict, and of Libya's position on events in its southern neighbour, have been moulded by a mass media which has persistently reported the propaganda claims of the Habre regime and its US backers, while ignoring the Jamahiriya's clearly-stated position. Dr Alan George reviews the techniques used to mislead public opinion.

taken on the role of the Cuba of North Africa, liberally supplied with Russian arms and employed by the Kremlin to destabilise the area by proxy'.

Distorted handling

In part, the distorted handling of the Chadian conflict by the media has reflected the Habre regime's determined efforts to prevent journalists from gaining first hand

information. They have been barred from visiting the battle zone, and their despatches from N'Djamena have been heavily censored. This, however, offers no excuse for disregarding the Libyan position, which has been readily available in the despatches of the Jamahiriya news agency JANA.

In a bid to counter the disinformation being peddled by the media, the Libyan People's Bureau in London has sent a letter to a series of British daily papers, spelling out the Jamahiriya's true position. On 15th August, for example, the *Financial Times* published a letter from the Bureau dismissing American claims that Libyan forces were engaged in the conflict. It was pointed out that the allegations of Libyan military intervention 'all lack any firm independent evidence to support them' and that 'No-one has actually seen a Libyan soldier in Chad, although the Press creates the impression that a Libyan invasion army is storming across the country'.

In the *Times* on 22nd August, the Bureau stressed that Libya's position 'has been consistent and clear. The Jamahiriya believes that stability in Chad is crucial to the whole of the region and, moreover, that this is dependent on national reconciliation between the warring factions'.

Pointing to America's responsibility for the current crisis in Chad, the Bureau recalled that Goukouni Oueddei had headed an OAU-endorsed government of national unity, set up precisely to reconcile the various Chadian factions, and that when Hissene Habre had rebelled against this government, he had done so 'with the direct backing of the United States'. This had been confirmed last June by a CIA official in the hearing of the US House of Representatives Intelligence Committee. The Bureau pointed out that it was therefore 'justifiable to blame the United States for subversion in Chad, and of being directly responsible for the present war'.

The Bureau stressed that while Libya had not sent its forces into Chad, the Jamahiriya did view the growing US and foreign involvement with alarm. 'It is natural, in view of the American threat to the Libyan Jamahiriya, which you have reported frequently, that we view the conflict there, and the foreign intervention by the US and its allies with concern'.

Tripoli is concerned that by trotting out US allegations regarding the Chadian conflict, and ignoring the Libyan viewpoint, the western media is assisting in an orchestrated campaign to whip up international opinion against Libya, as the prelude for military action against the Jamahiriya by the United States, with Chad as the springboard.

This concern was spelled out in the Bureau's letter to the *Financial Times*: 'The real danger in this conflict is that western governments and public opinion are being manipulated by a very clever propaganda campaign from the American side to support an American military build-up in the region with the possible US objectives of an attack against Libya'.

THE RECORD shows that the Libyan Jamahiriya, far from cherishing territorial ambitions in Chad, has been extremely hesitant to become involved in the internal politics of the country's relentless civil war. At the same time, it has had to balance its understandable reluctance to become entangled in the Chadian conflict, with the knowledge that it can never escape from the repercussions of the political upheavals in its southern neighbour. Sharing a long, open border with Chad, the Jamahiriya naturally fears a threat to its security and territory from a hostile regime in N'Djamena.

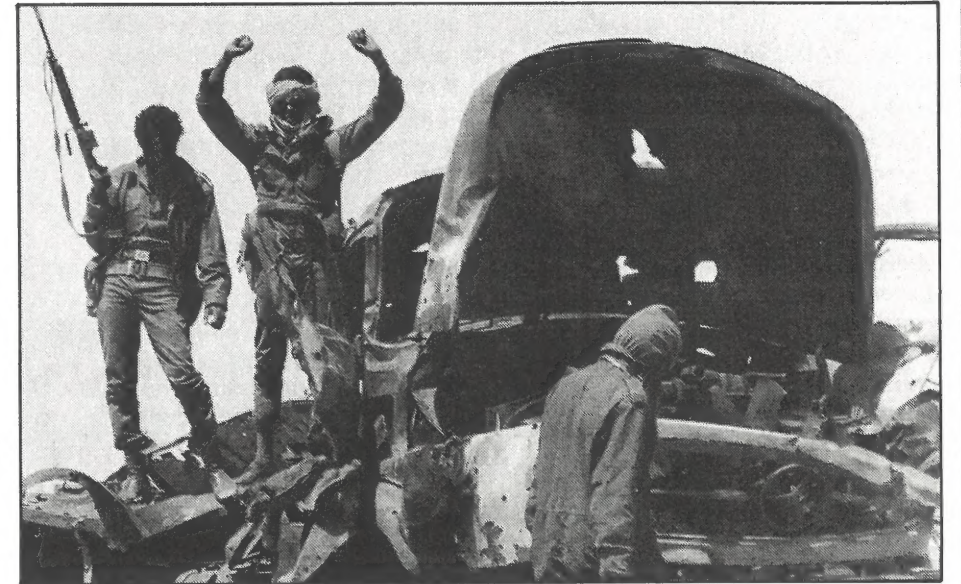
The top priority in the Jamahiriya's relations with Chad has been a desire for peace based on reconciliation between all the factions in the long-running civil war, and over the years Muammar Qadhafi has launched a series of initiatives aimed at bringing peace to Chad. In 1971 he met with officials from Chad's National Liberation Front, headed by Hissene Habre, and with representatives of the Government of President Francois Tombalbaye. The talks led to a truce in 1972, which was the first ever in the protracted civil war. To assist with the reconstruction of the war-ravaged economy, Libya donated 23 billion CFA francs for development projects.

The talks with the Tombalbaye government, which culminated in a treaty signed on 23rd December 1972, during the Chadian leader's state visit to Tripoli, were fundamental for protecting Libya's vulnerable southern frontier. First Tombalbaye agreed to concede to Libya a slither of territory under the sovereignty of the Chadian state, called the Aozou Strip, which was unilaterally seized from Libya by France in 1899, although the majority of its population were Libya Arabs. Secondly, under Article 3 of the treaty, both countries decided to form a 'zone of solidarity'.

The agreement paved the way for better understanding between the warring parties in Chad. In negotiations with Qadhafi, Tombalbaye undertook to launch a campaign of national reconciliation, including the appointment of equal numbers of Muslim Arab and Christian African ministers to the cabinet. For the National Liberation Front, which was fighting for equality among the different sections of the Chadian people and for real independence from external and colonial influence, the concessions were a major victory.

New era

With Muammar Qadhafi's official visit to Chad in March 1974, and the opening in N'Djamena of a joint development bank to finance major construction programmes, it seemed that the seal had been set on a new era of fraternal relations between the two countries. Then an event occurred which abruptly ruptured co-operation between both countries. Acting with the encouragement and support of France and the United States, a group of senior Chadian military officers, led by Chief of Staff Felix



Libya seeks national reconciliation between the warring factions in Chad

The Libyan quest for peace

THROUGHOUT THE present crisis in Chad, the Libyan Jamahiriya has sought a peaceful resolution of the civil war, based on national reconciliation between the warring factions. This stance is not new. Contrary to the propaganda assertions of Washington, Tripoli has a long record as a peace-maker in Chad, which has contrasted sharply with the destructive meddling of the United States, France and its regional allies. Jon Bearman outlines the Libyan quest for peace.

Malloum, ousted and killed Tombalbaye in a coup on 13th April 1975.

The western backed takeover by Malloum immediately plunged the country into another round of bloody fighting, which posed obvious dangers to the territorial integrity of Libya. Robbed of the concessions they had received from Tombalbaye in Qadhafi's mediation talks, Frolinat returned to the battlefield in another bid to expel foreign influence from their country. The Libyan Jamahiriya, confronted with a renewed colonial threat, supported their aims, but refrained from direct involvement, hoping the dispute would be resolved through mediation and negotiations.

By 1978, Libya judged the time was right to embark on a fresh round of mediation in the conflict. At three conferences in February and March 1978, at Sebha, Tripoli and Benghazi, Libyan officials presided over talks between the liberation movement and the government of Malloum, culminating in direct negotiations at the Benghazi round table meeting between Goukouni Oueddei, the leader of the National Liberation Front and Malloum himself. Sadly the talks broke down when Malloum refused to abrogate his agreements on French military intervention.

Following the victory of Oueddei's liberation movement in the civil war, Libya believed it was possible, without a regime constrained by the west, to settle the conflict. The Jamahiriya was quick to support a Nigerian peace initiative from President Shagari in 1979, which found a formula to resolve the war, by setting up, under OAU auspices, a provisional Government of Unity and National Transition (GUNT), under Goukouni Oueddei to begin the process of national reconciliation. Later, when Hissene Habre, the Defence Minister in the new government, launched a rebellion which threatened to topple GUNT, Libya instantly despatched a peacekeeping force to stop the fighting, withdrawing the moment it was requested by President Oueddei.

Despite western media distortion, Libya has acted with honour and compassion towards Chad. Throughout the current crisis, the Jamahiriya has firmly and consistently denied any military involvement in the country, arguing that only a peace based on national reconciliation can offer a lasting solution. True to past form, however, the western media all but ignored a fresh peace initiative by Muammar Qadhafi, announced by the Jamahiriya news agency JANA on 11th August, and providing for talks involving Paris.



Muammar Qadhafi is greeted by President Bourguiba at the presidential palace in Monastir

Maghreb unity gathers momentum

RECENT WEEKS have seen an escalation of the Jamahiriya's efforts to bring unity to the Arab countries of North West Africa, with visits by Muammar Qadhafi to Mauritania, Algeria and Tunisia. In Tripoli, July's joint meeting of the General People's Committee (GPC) and the Tunisian cabinet has been followed up with important meetings of the Joint Committees Libya has set up with Morocco and Mauritania, at which practical measures towards unity were agreed.

Muammar Qadhafi arrived in Tunis on 16th August for talks with President Bourguiba, Premier Muhammad Mzali and other Tunisian leaders, which centred on the need to maintain the momentum of unionist efforts. Tunis radio said that at a meeting with citizens in Monastir, attended by Prime Minister Mzali, Colonel Qadhafi had stressed 'the need for Arab unity in the face of challenge from the Zionists and imperialist powers, and had pointed to the practical steps towards Maghreb economic integration and unity'. The radio was referring to the sixteen-point programme agreed at July's joint session of the GPC and Tunisian cabinet, which set out specific practical measures aimed at integrating the two countries.

Muammar Qadhafi warned that the regional situation demanded urgent action. Affirming that his visit to Tunisia came as part of the Jamahiriya's efforts to bring unity to the Arab nation, he declared that the tendency to factionalism in the Arab homeland posed a danger to the very concept of Arab nationalism. Israel, he said, 'had begun to encourage the emergence of small statelets in Lebanon, and if Syria were defeated, Lebanon would disintegrate'. This process could spread throughout the region.

'I have tried to salvage what can be salvaged', he declared, affirming: 'We have found that there is a readiness to build the Arab Maghreb as a step along the path of comprehensive Arab unity, from the (Atlantic) Ocean to the (Arabian) Gulf'.

In June this year, Muammar Qadhafi

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya is playing a leading role in moves to bring harmony and unity to the Arab countries of North West Africa, as a first step towards wider Arab unity. Robert Miller reviews recent visits by Muammar Qadhafi to Tunisia, Mauritania and Algeria.

moved to establish harmonious relations between the Jamahiriya and Morocco by visiting Rabat for wide-ranging discussions with King Hassan. One of the first practical outcomes of the initiative came on 5th August when an important economic and trade co-operation agreement was concluded at a meeting in Tripoli of the Libyan-Moroccan Joint Committee. The accord was expressly designed to encourage 'economic integration within the context of efforts to build the greater Arab Maghreb, which would lead to comprehensive Arab unity'.

To boost trade, direct contacts will be encouraged between Moroccan and Libyan firms, institutions and chambers of commerce, and a Libyan delegation will visit Morocco soon to start the process.

The two countries agreed to expand co-operation in 'the field of petroleum and its derivatives'. Moroccan construction companies will be encouraged to take part in the Jamahiriya's development programme.

Investment

Joint investment institutions will be set up to finance trade, and fisheries, industrial and agricultural projects. Bilateral tourism will be encouraged, and joint tourist development projects will be launched.

The Committee, which was set up during

the Rabat talks in June, also signed agreements covering labour and social security.

The significance attached by both sides to the Tripoli meeting was underscored by the composition of the delegations to the talks. The Moroccan side was headed by Interior Minister Driss Basri, and included Mr Mohamed Arslane al Jadidi, Minister of Labour and National Training and Mr Azzedine Guessous, Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism. The Libyan team included Justice Secretary Muhammad Abu al Qasim al Zuwayy, Economy and Light Industry Secretary Musa Abu Freiwa, and Civil Service Secretary Muhammad Abdullah al Mabruk.

Muammar Qadhafi's visit to Morocco signalled an intensification of the Jamahiriya's efforts to bring unity to the Maghreb. The Jamahiriya last year launched unionist initiatives with Tunisia and Algeria which aim not at total and instant unity, but instead at harmonising domestic and foreign policies, to be achieved through regular joint meetings of policy-making bodies. The model for July's joint meeting of the GPC and the Tunisian cabinet was a similar meeting in Algiers in March 1982 between the GPC and the Algerian Council of Ministers, at which a wide-ranging co-operation programme was also agreed.

Muammar Qadhafi followed-up the July meeting in Tripoli with visits to Mauritania and Algeria. In Nouakchott, Colonel Qadhafi and Mauritanian leader Muhammad Ould Haidalla pledged closer ties between their peoples. In a joint communique on 24th July, the Jamahiriya and Mauritania expressed a determination to 'strive for the construction of the Arab Maghreb, requiring the achievement of economic integration and co-ordination amongst its countries in all fields as a means towards achieving overall Arab unity'.

On 24th July the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed that, to encourage this process, Mauritania's Foreign Minister and Libya's Foreign Liaison Secretary had initialled a co-operation agreement calling for 'joint meetings between the GPC and the Mauritanian Council of Ministers, every six months, alternately in Tripoli and Nouakchott'.

A joint communique on 26th July, following Muammar Qadhafi's talks with President Chadli Benjedid and other Algerian officials, pledged the Jamahiriya and Algeria 'to speed up the implementation of points stipulated in the minutes of the agreement signed in Algiers on 27th March 1982'.

The practical results of the Libyan leader's visits to Mauritania and Algeria were soon in evidence. On 15th August the joint Libyan-Mauritanian Committee began a series of meetings in Tripoli. The delegations were headed by Mr Muhammad Bin Mukhtar, Mauritania's Minister of Information and Communications, and by Dr Abdul Hafez az Zulaytini, Secretary General of the Jamahiriya's People's Committee for Education.

A MORE democratic process in the Jamahiriya's urban development programme is urgently needed, with greater involvement by citizens in planning and design. At the same time, there should be more attention to local needs and traditions, and less reliance on imported, alien design concepts. This was the central message of British architect James Cubitt, in an address to the international symposium on the *Green Book*, held at Benghazi's Garyounis University in April.

Mr Cubitt, whose London firm designed the Garyounis campus, said that, in theory, Libyans were able to play a direct role in shaping their architectural environment, through their *jamahiri* system of direct democracy. The system comprises a series of people's congresses, open to all citizens, where national and local policies are debated and decided. Each congress appoints people's committees, comprising experts in specialist fields, for example health and housing. The committees are charged with executing the directives of their congresses, and have no independent decision-making powers.

In practice, however, the democratic opportunities presented by the system were not being exploited as they should be, at least in the field of architecture and urban planning, said Mr Cubitt. The key reason for this failure was that the congresses and committees erroneously believed that there is a crucial distinction between the 'political' and 'technical' aspects of construction. In Libya, as in many other parts of the world, said Mr Cubitt, it was believed that the responsibility of local policy-makers ended with the decision on *what* was to be built — for example a housing estate or a road. A project is then handed over to an architect, often from abroad, and the design of the scheme is left entirely in his hands. It is assumed that the architect's task is purely technical.

Mr Cubitt stressed that, in reality, an architect's tasks inevitably entailed decisions of a 'political' nature, in the sense that he must make decisions on lay-out and physical shape and external appearance which can drastically modify the original concept. 'What the building is for, and how it is to achieve its purposes are inseparable,' declared Mr Cubitt.

Solutions

He explained: 'The general view that the architect gives technical solutions to problems which are already resolved "politically" is wrong. Not only the problems are political; their solution is political too. These solutions start to take shape very early on, and the most important are usually the earliest, such as the placing of the building on the site'.

Urban development was too important to be handed over by the people to 'experts' Mr Cubitt insisted. 'If we look at roads within urban areas in most parts of the world today, who has control? No one. Motor transport dictates the lives of the people; the people do not dictate transport.



James Cubitt pictured at an exhibition of his work in London

Towards a revolutionary architecture

A PLEA for greater popular participation in architecture and urban planning was at the heart of a recent address in Libya by British architect James Cubitt, whose designs for Benghazi's Garyounis University have won international acclaim.

The road pattern developing in Benghazi already dictates how people live; the way people want to live is not going to dictate Benghazi's road patterns.

Such problems, which directly affected the quality of life in the Jamahiriya, demanded an urgent reappraisal of the relationship between people's committees and congresses and the architects they appointed. The emphasis, Mr Cubitt stressed, should be on a *continuing dialogue* between the architects and those who appoint them.

He elaborated: 'The committees of the Jamahiriya can and should take part in creating the right architecture. They should and can take part in the *how*. They should not stop with the *what*, regarding *how* as merely a technical matter. And that means

contact with the architects as they work their way through towards situations. It means listening to reports and understanding technical drawings, models and illustrations; entering into judgements of the size, shape and relationships of buildings, visiting sites with the architects. It means making suggestions, even demands.'

On the other side, he added, 'the architect must understand what is happening — the democratic process — and accept his place in it'.

It was just such a process of free discussion and debate which had characterised the early phases of the Garyounis University scheme, said Mr Cubitt, adding that it had contributed greatly to the overall success of the project.

The process adopted in the design of the university, he continued, should be employed comprehensively in the wider development of the city of Benghazi. He stressed, however, that a dialogue between congresses and committees, on the one hand, and architects and urban planners, on the other, would have to involve a greater confidence by Libyans in their traditional urban forms, which are vital expressions of their authentic Arab and Islamic culture.

Mr Cubitt stressed: 'It is necessary to turn away from the complications of conventional town planning schemes based on alien concepts. They are overloaded with a mass of proposals, each one open to doubt and the whole a shopping bag of guesses held together only by the bag itself.'

WHEN THE Zionists invaded Lebanon last year, one of their principal objectives was to distract international attention from the accelerating pace at which the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip regions of Palestine were being swallowed up by Israeli colonisation. Beigin's objective, which has been largely achieved, was to ensure that the occupation of Lebanon would take priority to the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza on the international agenda, allowing Israel's plans for the 1967 occupied territories to proceed unhindered by international objections.

The publication of two first-rate books which focus on the West Bank and Gaza, just as they are entering their seventeenth year under Israeli rule, serves as a timely reminder that the plight of the 1.1 million Palestinians in those regions is no less severe than that of the Lebanese and Palestinians enduring Israeli rule to the north.

This Land is Our Land deserves to become a standard reference work for all those needing a clear, comprehensive and authentic account of how Israel is absorbing the 1967 occupied territories. Separate chapters detail Israel's methods: colonisation and land seizures; the suppression of personal and political freedoms; the deliberate moulding of the West Bank and Gaza economies to make them dependent on that of pre-1967 Israel. These chapters offer a wealth of well-organised information, deliberately gleaned mainly from Israeli sources to counter accusations that the data is merely 'Arab propaganda'.

Much of this information has already been documented elsewhere, however, and of greater interest to the specialist will be the chapters analysing the changing social and political structures in the 1967 occupied territories, from a point after the June 1967 war where Palestinians tended to look to Jordan for salvation, to the situation today, where Palestinian and Arab nationalism is dominant amongst a generation which has known nothing except the occupation.

Wider question

Turning to the wider question of what might replace the occupation, the authors first provide a devastating critique of the Camp David accords, stressing that the accords solved nothing since they were explicitly designed to side step the issue of Palestinian rights.

Since 1970 there has been growing support in the 1967 occupied territories for a solution entailing an Israeli withdrawal and the establishment of a Palestinian mini-state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. A separate chapter examines the evolution of support for this concept within the two regions. The book closes with a review of how the Israeli public views an exchange of territory for peace.

The authors evidently favour such an exchange. 'Compromise is necessary if the explosive situation in the Middle East is not to end in a bloodbath,' declare the authors. 'A compromise must, therefore, also be in

West Bank studies mark sixteen years of Israeli occupation

TWO NEW books offer a timely look at conditions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and show that the plight of the Palestinians in these Israeli-occupied regions is no less grave than that of the Arabs under Zionist rule in Lebanon. Dr Alan George concludes that both studies can be strongly recommended.

the interests of Jewish Israelis.' Whatever the long-term merits of the plea, however, it is surely of little immediate practical application in an atmosphere of total intransigence by the Zionists. The Beigin government has declared time and time again its intent never to relinquish the Zionists' grip on the 1967 occupied territories.

The scholarly tone and content of *This Land is Our Land* contrasts sharply with that of the other new volume, which offers a penetrating insight into daily life under Zionist rule. Raja Shehadeh's *The Third Way* is a highly personal account, providing a series of graphic and detailed anecdotes which illustrate different aspects of the occupation. Running through the book is the theme of *sumud*, the Arabic word for steadfastness.

Raja Shehadeh, a Palestinian human rights lawyer whose work, with Jonathan Kutub, *The West Bank and the Rule of Law*, has become a standard reference, maintains that 'between mute submission and blind hate there is a third way'. That way is

sumud, and it entails 'watching your home turned into a prison, because it is your home, and because you fear that if you leave, your jailer will not allow you to return. Living like this, you must constantly resist the twin temptations of either acquiescing in the jailer's plan in numb despair, or becoming crazed by consuming hatred for your jailer and yourself, the prisoner'.

He stresses that *sumud* 'is developing from an all-encompassing form of life into a form of resistance that unites the Palestinians living under Israeli occupation'.

The impact of Zionist rule on the Palestinians is usually discussed in terms of moral and practical issues, such as colonisation and human rights violations. Shehadeh's book, however, centres on the personal emotional response of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The challenge, he argues, is to retain self-respect, against near-impossible odds. This is the essence of *sumud*.

Shehadeh demonstrates clearly that this frequently involves severe emotional conflicts, with fear, anger, and shame, for example, competing for dominance. On occasion, he admits to envy of those whose emotional response is uncomplicated. Their task is less wearing. At one point, Shehadeh is reduced to tears by a newspaper report of a Palestinian commando who, during his trial by an Israeli military court, shouts defiantly: 'Long live free Palestine'. Shehadeh admits: 'I am not the stuff that heroes are made of. What on earth am I doing in his company? He knows what he is doing — determined and brave, he follows a course that he is set on — knowing the risk and willing to take it'.

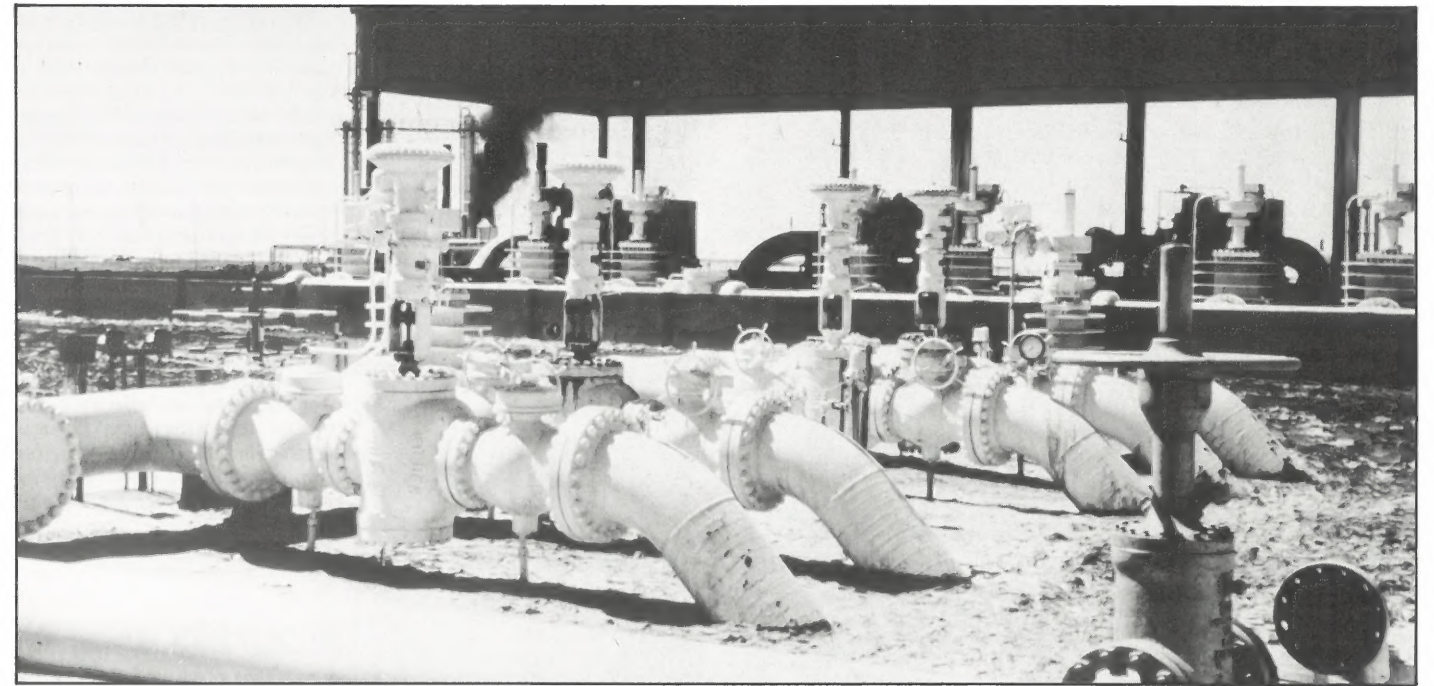
At the same time, however, Shehadeh knows that being true to himself, including his very human frailties and doubts, must be paramount if he is to preserve his dignity and self-respect. He resolutely refuses to allow his authentic make-up to become warped and enslaved by the occupation. In this way, the destructive psychological impact of Israeli rule can at least be minimised.

Such a refusal to submit in spirit helps Palestinians withstand the intolerable burdens placed on them by Israel, which are designed to encourage their 'voluntary' emigration to make way for Zionist settlers. *Sumud*, a dogged refusal to fall in with Israeli plans, is a form of resistance no less vital than commando action.

These two books, one a scholarly work full of analysis and facts, the other a sensitive account of the personal realities of occupation, complement each other, and can be strongly recommended.

This Land is Our Land: The West Bank under Israeli Occupation by Jan Metzger, Martin Orth and Christian Sterzing, Zed Press London, 1983. 273 pages. Price: £6.50 (paperback), £15.95 (hardback).

The Third Way: A Journal of Life in the West Bank, by Raja Shehadeh, Quartet Books, London, 1983. 143 pages. Price: £5.95



Liquefied petroleum gas is one of the Jamahiriya's exports.

China exhibits

THE FIRST Chinese economic and trade exhibition in the Jamahiriya opened in Benghazi, the second largest city, on 25th July. Goods on display at the twelve day event included textiles, arts and crafts, foodstuffs, machinery, electrical equipment, chemicals and electronic products.

Amongst the more than three hundred Libyan guests at the opening ceremony were Mr Musa Abu Freiwa, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Economy and Light Industry, and Mr Zheng Hongye, Head of the Chinese exhibition delegation.

The trade exhibition underlined the determination of the two countries to boost their economic links in tandem with their growing political and cultural ties. An era of warm relations between Peking and Tripoli was inaugurated last year by Muammer Qadhafi's visit to the People's Republic. Shortly after, in August 1982, a Libyan delegation headed by General People's Committee Secretary Jadallah Azourz Talhi, toured China and signed a co-operation agreement providing for Chinese firms to play a more active role in the Jamahiriya's development programme.

LPG exports to rise

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya is exploring the scope for boosting its European sale of liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) by more than one million cubic metres, the OPEC news agency OPECNA disclosed on 15th July, citing an 'official source' in Tripoli.

Libya has a major LPG plant at the coastal town of Marsa Brega. The plant is operated by the Sirte Oil Company, which took over from Esso Libya this year after the US-based multinational became one of the very few firms to heed calls from the White House urging US concerns to abandon their operations in Libya as part of the Reagan administration's efforts to sabotage the Jamahiriya's development programme.

Gas sales from the Marsa Brega plant are handled by the Brega Marketing Company, a subsidiary of the Libyan National Oil Corporation. The company is already active in Europe, providing the Spanish concern ENA Gas with 1.1 million cubic metres of LPG per annum on this basis of long term contracts.

Maltese goods on show

AN EXHIBITION of Maltese products was staged at Tripoli's International Fair Ground from 24th to 28th July, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA has announced. JANA added that Libya's Secretariat for Economy and Light Industry had played a prominent role in organising the exhibition.

Studies for new industries

INDUSTRY RECEIVES the lion's share of allocations in the Jamahiriya's \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan, with spending

set at \$13.5 billion — 23 per cent of the total. Much of the investment is destined for heavy industries, such as the steel works under construction at Misrata and the aluminium smelting complex planned for Zuwara. Light industries are not being neglected, however, and have a \$3.6 billion allocation in the five year plan, of which \$285 million is being spent this year.

On 21st July the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed that the General People's Committee for Economy and Light Industry is currently preparing studies for industrial schemes in fourteen Libyan municipalities, including projects to manufacture construction equipment, textiles, furniture, and leather and wood products.

Earlier, on 5th July, JANA said that the Economy and Light Industry Secretariat had embarked on a technical and economic study for clothing and textiles schemes.

Success for Turkish firms

TURKEY'S TE-FA Construction, Contracting & Trading Corporation is near to signing a \$36.1 million contract to build 300 homes in Bani Walid, and a \$29.7 million award for a water supply, sewerage and drainage scheme at Taorha, near the coastal town of Misrata.

Te-Fa already has about one thousand workers in the Jamahiriya, and is engaged in a series of major development projects. The firm is nearing completion of a \$12.2 million school construction contract, and of a

separate \$69.9 million award for the construction of 600 homes plus associated infrastructure. Under two other awards, together worth \$73.6 million, Te-Fa is building schools, clinics, post offices, homes and other buildings.

The Turkish firm recently entered an agreement with the China Construction Engineering Company under which the two concerns will tender as a joint venture in future contracts in North Africa.

New farms for southern desert

TURKISH AND South Korean firms have won contracts worth \$250 million for the construction of farms and associated utilities in four areas near Muzruk, 200 kilometres south of Sebha, deep in the south west of the Jamahiriya.

The Turkish firm of Etrak has been awarded two contracts, together valued at \$120 million, for the construction of 88 farms at Majdoul and 60 at Neawa, with work to start early next year.

Sixty-four farms will be built at Tmessah by South Korea's Samsung Construction Company, in a contract valued at \$55.4 million.

A further 68 farms will be constructed at a cost of \$74 million at Gatroun by the Daewoo Corporation, also of South Korea.

All three firms are well established in the Jamahiriya. Daewoo, for example, has the main building contract for a \$1.4 billion housing and classroom construction contract covering all the Jamahiriya's largest towns. Samsung has an \$85.3 million contract for the first phase of the Nasser Forest Scheme



Agricultural output is to be boosted to allow self-sufficiency by the turn of the century.

▷ In Tripoli, a major leisure complex which will include a zoo and botanical gardens. Etrak was recently awarded a \$27 million contract to build a technical institute, and the firm is also nearing completion of a military camp.

Agricultural investment in the Jamahiriya's \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan is set at \$10.1 billion, and only the manufacturing sector has a larger allocation of investment funds. Agricultural development plans call for special efforts to expand output in the coastal zones, where the majority of Libyans live, but the desert areas in the south are not being neglected. Agriculture in the Sahara depends on irrigation from subterranean reserves of high quality water.

Smelter contracts draw near

CONDITIONAL LETTERS of intent have gone out to seven firms for work on the \$1.25 billion aluminium smelting complex to be sited at Zuwara, on the coast 110 kilometres west of Tripoli, it was disclosed in late July.

The aluminium plant, which will have an annual capacity of 120,000 tonnes, is the second largest single project in the industrial sector of the Jamahiriya's 1981-85 development plan. The largest is the integrated iron and steel works under construction at Misrata.

South Korea's Daewoo Cor-

poration has received letters of intent for contracts one and two, which entail civil works and general plant building. Daewoo, together with Boskalis Westminster International of Holland, is also on the shortlist for the sitelift contracts.

A conditional letter of intent for contract three — engineering procurement and construction of the put lines — has been issued to Britain's George Wimpey. The fourth contract, for metal-casting facilities, has gone to Italy's Italmimpianti, and contracts five and six, for a green carbon plant and carbon baking and rodding facilities, to the French firm Fives-Cail Babcock. A letter of intent for the materials handling contract has gone to West Germany's Kloeckner-Humboldt-Deutz.

A contract for power and distribution systems has also been awarded, but the recipient has yet to be confirmed.

The smelter complex is being co-ordinated by British-based Kaiser Engineers, who have said that the awards will be confirmed at the end of November.

In 1981 Milan-based Foster Wheeler Italiana won a \$45 million engineering procurement and construction supervision contract for a \$500 million, 170,000 tonnes per annum petroleum coke plant which is to be built in association with the smelter.

Over the past two years, the Jamahiriya's development progress has been hampered by falling oil revenues caused by the international oil glut and by the embargo on US imports of Libyan crude oil, imposed by President

Reagan in March 1982. In February this year the General People's Congress moved to conserve development funds by declaring a freeze on the award of new contracts for 'non-strategic' projects.

Libya's cash flow situation has improved strongly in recent months, but income is still lower than at the start of the 1981-85 development plan. This is reflected in a report that Kaiser Engineers are preparing a financial package to cover the Kuwara smelter scheme, with funds from West European, American and South Korean banks.

South Korean role in desert pipeline

THE SOUTH Korean firm Dong Ah Construction Industrial Company is close to winning the first major contract related to the Jamahiriya's planned 1,900 kilometre trans-desert pipeline, which will carry water from wells in the Sarir and Tazerbo regions, in the Sahara south of Benghazi, for industrial, agricultural and domestic use along the coast.

Last May it was reported that Dong Ah were near to winning two major contracts for the scheme. The first was worth about \$2 billion, and was for laying the pipeline. The second, for the establishment of factories in Marsa Brega and Sarir for the manufacture of concrete-reinforced steel pipe, was worth \$1 billion.

On 27th July *Middle East Economic Digest* disclosed that a team from the Jamahiriya's Coastal Belt Water Authority, which is administering the scheme, had visited Seoul to discuss the project, and had reached preliminary agreement with Dong Ah on the pipe fabrication contract.

The trans-desert water pipeline has the personal backing of Muammer Qadhafi. On 18th July the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced that the Libyan leader had met with 'the committee supervising the diversion of water from Tazerbo and Sarir to the coast'. It added that Colonel Qadhafi has inspected the plans for the scheme, and been given detailed information on the project.

Progress in agriculture

THE AL FATEH Revolution has consistently argued that political freedom depends on economic independence, and the Jamahiriya is committed to diversifying its economy away from the oil sector, and attaining overall economic self-sufficiency. As part of the process, Libya's planners aim to boost agricultural output at a rate which allows the country to become self-sufficient in food by the turn of the century. Recently published agricultural statistics suggest that the target will be met.

On 29th June the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced, in a review of development achievements, that 650,399 hectares of land had been reclaimed for cultivation, comprising 52 per cent of the target in the 1981-85 development plan. 994 wells had been bored (79 per cent of the plan target), and 39,204 hectares of land had been put under irrigation, accounting for 79 per cent of the planned total. Moreover, 272,455 hectares had been improved for cattle pasture.

JANA added that the number of fruit trees and date palms in the Jamahiriya had risen to 8,994,741. There were in addition 27,981,000 forest trees and 7,709,000 trees in wind breaks.

Agricultural development in Libya is closely linked with supplies of water for irrigation, and in May JANA disclosed that last year saw the sinking of seventy water wells with a daily output of 61,000 cubic metres, and the completion of three pumping stations with a daily capacity of 132,000 cubic metres. Also completed were five water treatment stations.

JANA added that thirty water reservoirs with a capacity of 18,600 cubic metres were built in 1982, and 257 kilometres of water pipelines were laid.

Arab Homeland

□ **16th July:** Staff Major Abdesalam Jalloud confers in Tripoli with Mr Walid Jumblatt, leader of Lebanon's Progressive Socialist Party. □ **17th July:** Muammer Qadhafi attends an extraordinary meeting of the General People's Committee, convened to discuss the agenda of the imminent joint meeting between the General People's Committee and the Tunisian cabinet.

□ **21st July:** Mr Ibrahim Kwaider, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Sports, meets in Tunis with Mr Mohammad Karim, Tunisian Minister of Youth and Sports.

□ **23rd July:** The Permanent Secretariat of the Arab People's Congress convenes a meeting in Tripoli to prepare the symposium to be held in Athens from 16th-18th September in commemoration of the first anniversary of the massacres in the Beirut Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila.

□ **24th July:** Muammer Qadhafi concludes his visit to Mauritania, where he held talks with the country's leader, Lt Col Mohammad Ould Haidalla.

□ **24th July:** Revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi arrives in Algiers for talks with President Chadli Benjedid.

□ **25th July:** As part of the cultural co-operation programme between Ghadames municipality in the Jamahiriya, and Tunisia's Tatawin Province, fifty young people from Ghadames take part in the summer youth festival on Djerba Island.

□ **26th July:** Brigadier Abu Bakr Younis Jaber, Commander in Chief of the Libyan Armed Forces, receives a delegation from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, one of the resistance groups linked in the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

□ **7th August:** Mr Ramadan al Farjani, Acting Secretary of the Libyan Brotherhood Bureau in Abu Dhabi, conveys to United Arab Emirates' President Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al Nahyan a message from Muammer Qadhafi dealing with bilateral relations.

□ **7th August:** Aden radio broadcasts a message

from President Ali Nasser Mohammad affirming support for the Libyan people in confronting US threats and provocations.

□ **8th August:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA announces that Muammer Qadhafi has met with the Moroccan delegation taking part in the current meetings in Tripoli of the Libyan-Moroccan Joint Committee.

Jamahiriya Economic News

□ **29th July:** It is disclosed that the Jamahiriya's State Organisation for electricity has set up a commission to examine bids by six international companies for the construction of the \$1 billion Tripoli 1 desalination plant, which will have a daily capacity of 25,000 cubic metres.

□ **12th August:** It is announced that the Libyan National Oil Corporation (LNOC) has set up a service company in Britain. Umm al Jawaby Oil Services has been set up in London to provide recruitment, training and general administrative services.

□ **12th August:** *Middle East Economic Digest* quotes the Italian daily *Corriere della Sera* as saying that the Jamahiriya last year sold Italy an average of 145,000 barrels of oil per day, and that Tripoli is hoping for an even higher figure this year.

International

□ **18th July:** Mr Abu Zaid Omar Dourda, Libya's Secretary for Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation, attends celebrations in Tripoli organised by the Libyan-Polish Friendship Society to mark Polish National Day.

□ **27th July:** Tripoli radio discloses that Mr Jacinto Veloso, the personal representative of President Samora Machel of Mozambique, has delivered a message to Muammer Qadhafi.

□ **28th July:** Muammer Qadhafi confers with Vietnam's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, who conveys a message from President Phan Van Dong.

□ **1st August:** Mr Armand Monteiro, Benin's Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research, arrives in the Jamahiriya for talks aimed at strengthening links between the two countries. During his visit, he conferred with Mr Abd al Hafiz az Zulaiyini, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Education.

□ **1st August:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA discloses that the Permanent Secretariat of the Organisation for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa has strongly condemned interference by the US and NATO countries in Chad's internal affairs.

□ **2nd August:** A joint meeting is held in Tripoli's International Relations Institute between the information committee of the Second African Youth Festival, and the African Information Committee. The meeting was convened to discuss media aspects of the Second African Youth Festival, which is being hosted by the Jamahiriya at the end of August.

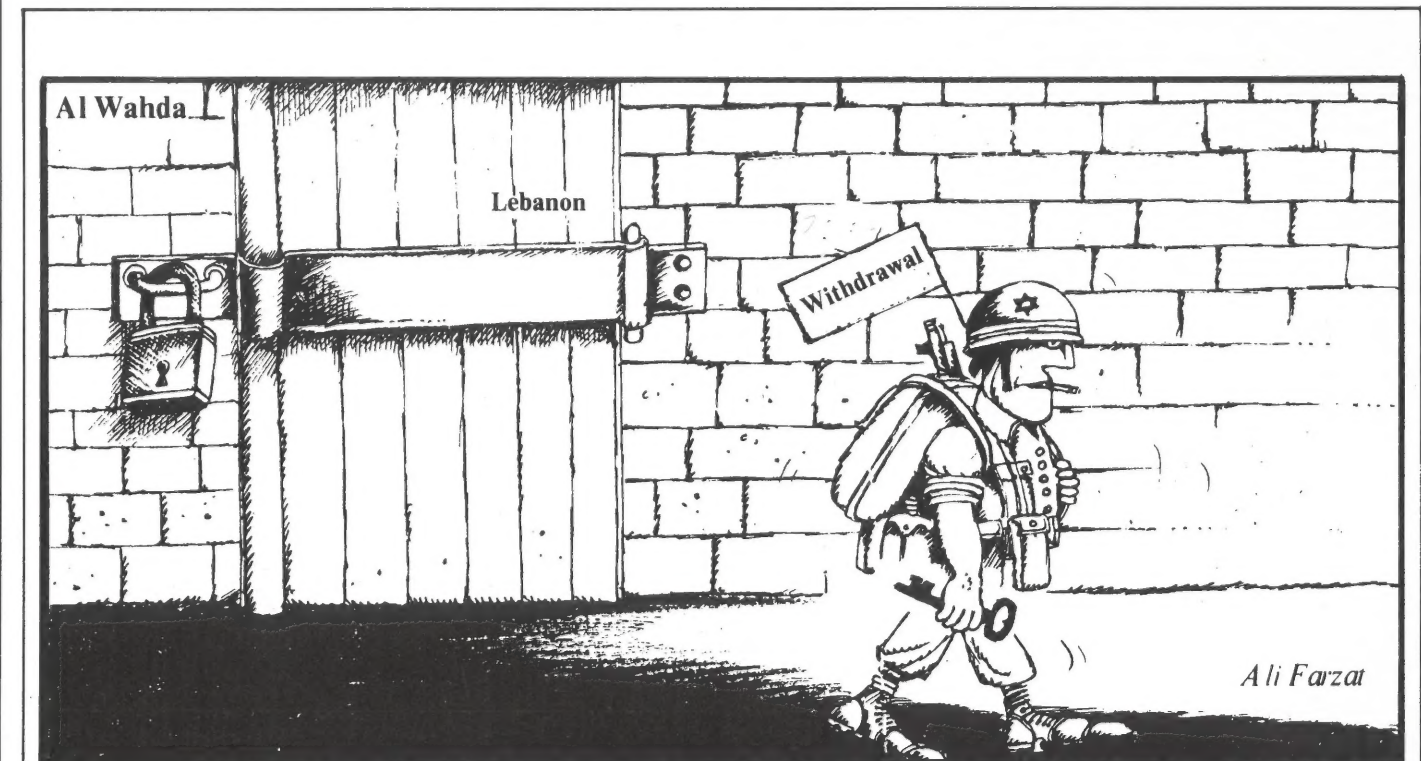
□ **2nd August:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA discloses that the International Society of Jurists has strongly condemned foreign intervention in the Chadian civil war, and expressed support for OAU resolutions calling for a peaceful solution of the conflict.

□ **3rd August:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA reports a joint statement by the Presidents of Zambia and Angola, calling for a halt to foreign interference in the Chadian conflict, and the withdrawal of all foreign forces.

□ **6th August:** A Libyan military delegation leaves Tripoli for talks in the Soviet Union. The team includes the Chiefs of Staff for the Air Force, Air Defence and Navy, and the Director of the Jamahiriya's military industrialisation programme.

□ **8th August:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA announces that Muammer Qadhafi has conferred with a personal envoy from Congolese President Denis Ngusso.

□ **9th August:** The Jamahiriya requests an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council to consider provocative acts by United States military forces along Libya's borders.



THE GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

PART 1

The solution of the problem of Democracy

PART 2

The solution of the Economic Problem

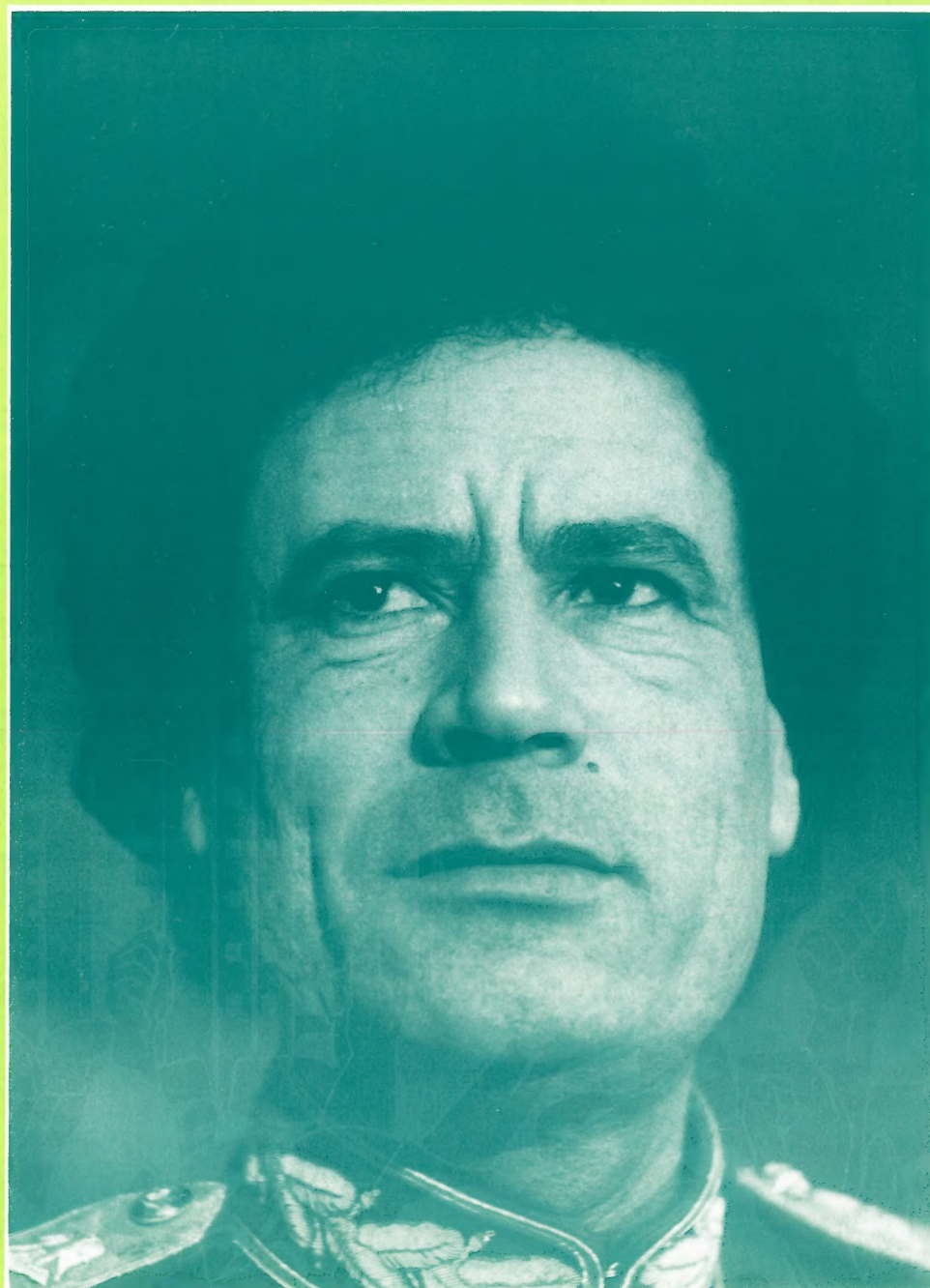
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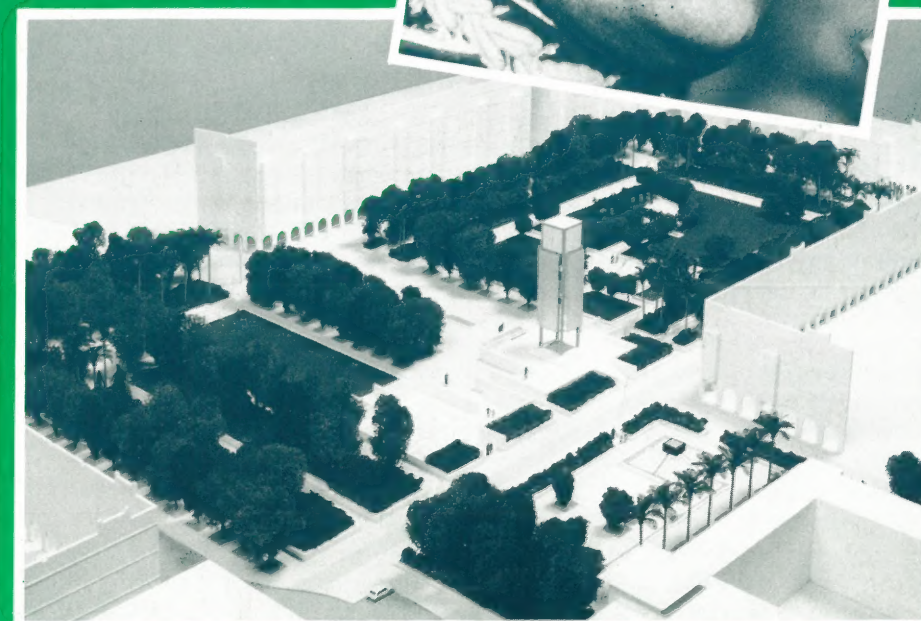
Editorial comment on page 4

Lebanon crisis background on page 11



Top Priority for Arab Unity

Muammer Qadhafi's speech on page 9



British Designs

Misrata's new park - page 14